



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

SA 2836.2.



HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY

1

6
11
Cavaliers and Roundheads//

In

Barbados.

1650-1652.

Richardson
by H. D. Davis

(Reprinted, for private circulation, from the
Demerara "Argosy.")

"ARGOSY" PRESS, DEMERARA.

1883.

~~3376.57~~ SA 2836.2

1884. July 7,
Gift of the Author.

ERRATA :

PAGE.	LINE.	FOR.	READ.
5	Last	Bermoothes	Bermudas
6	1	Prelate's	Prelates'
7	14	Waldrond	Walrond
9	3	Juvon	Juxon
14	30	Vernon	Vennor
17	21	<i>first line</i>	<i>third line</i>
17	24	begins	runs
19	11	King of England	K. of E.
22	17	Wherteley	Wheately
22	26	Earl	Earls
23	24	strong	showy
24	30	same included	should include
54	6	Kendale	Kendall
65	3	his subjects	his Scottish subjects
66	29	sent out	rent out
66	33	enemy	envy
69	29	absolution	absolutism
72	30	After <i>Marshal</i> , insert, one of whose sons was among the early settlers in Barbados	
114	5	Carlida	Carloli
116	26	Francis	Thomas
121	32	<i>Merchant</i> , with Captain Pack, &c.	<i>Merchant</i> , the <i>Amity</i> , with Captain Pack, &c.
138	24	Potty	Totty
139	13	Needhands'	Needham's

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Declaring for the King in Little England.. 1

CHAPTER II.

Founding the British Empire in the West
Indies 10

CHAPTER III.

Colonizing in the Olden Times .. 18

CHAPTER IV.

Far Barbados on the Western Main .. 35

CHAPTER V.

Troubles in Old England .. 63

CHAPTER VI.

Troubles in Little England.. 82

CHAPTER VII.

The Commonwealth and the Colonies .. 113

CHAPTER VIII.

The Blockade of Barbados and the Capitula-
tion of the Cavaliers .. 116





Cavaliers and Roundheads in Barbados.

1650-1652.

*I ask nae be ye Whig or Tory,
For Commonwealth, or Right Divine :
Say—dear to you is England's glory—
Then, gie's a hand o' thine !*

CHAPTER I.

Declaring for the King in Little England.

For God and King Charles :
God bless King Charles :
God bless our Sovereign,
And Hey for King Charles !

IN the month of May 1650 the Commonwealth of England completed the first year of its existence. Just twelve months had gone by since what then remained of the Long Parliament—the Rump—having previously abolished Monarchy, passed an Act declaring the people of England and of all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, to be a Commonwealth and Free State, to be governed as such.

In the first week of May 1650, affairs stood pretty much in this wise. In England and Wales,

order reigned, as it did in Warsaw in modern times, the iron rule of the Army having crushed out all thought of uprising against the Parliament, which itself was the mere creature of the Council of State, while everybody was overawed by the power of Cromwell and Fairfax, and their lieutenants, Ireton, Lambert, Monk, Fleetwood, Ludlow, and other mighty men of valour who were Captains of Israel. Blake, the Commonwealth's "sea-general," was afloat, setting about the fulfilment of his great destiny, the building up of England's Naval Glory, by a chase after Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice who had turned corsairs, and were at the time roving the sea, plundering friend and foe alike, quite impartially. England was still 'in coventry' with the Nations of Europe, on account of the execution of her King the year before; but the Dutch were now taking steps towards the establishment of intercourse between the United Netherlands and the new Republic, and the great Puritan Poet was engaged upon his famous counterblast to the "Defence" Salmasius had written in justification of the dead King,—a counterblast which, as the "*Defence of the People of England, by John Milton Englishman*," somewhat abated the aversion of continental countries, while it gave Milton himself a European reputation.

In Scotland, the 'Great Marquis' of Montrose had just failed in his forlorn endeavour to establish his Master's son upon the Throne of Scotland, by force of arms, and in spite of the great bulk of the Scottish Nation. Fallen upon by Colonel

Strachan in an ambuscade at Corbiesdale and utterly routed, he had wandered as a fugitive into the domain of Macleod of Assynt, who delivered him up to General David Leslie at Tain, whence, as a prisoner, Scotland's Hero, was taken to Edinburgh, to meet his doom. He, no doubt, would have dealt with Argyre in the way Argyre dealt with him, had the fortune of war been different, but well had his loyal heart kept its vow to Charles's shade—

"I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
"And write thine epitaph in blood and wounds.

And it is a thousand pities that the greatest of Grahame should have lost his life in the cause of one so unworthy of devoted loyalty, as his dead Master's son proved himself to be.

The Scotch Parliament had proclaimed Charles the Second as their King as soon as they heard of his father's death. They were not, however, prepared to take the Merry Monarch on any terms but their own. If he would swear to the Covenant, agree to uphold the Presbytery and stand by the Kirk and the Parliament, then they would not only receive him as their King, but would pledge themselves to set him upon the throne of England also. They had an Army under the two Leslies ready to carry out what they should undertake: at all events, to try to do so. The King of the Scots, as the English then called Charles, was in the City of Breda, very much worried by the heckling of the Commissioners sent to wait upon him by the Scottish Kirk and Parlia-

SA 2836.2



HARVARD
COLLEGE
LIBRARY

OS.

fully spit
of the Ch
that have
an Pilgrim

atically for
nion warm
e leadership
v, a gallant
not so muc
ion as Gov
for the some
ld now-a-da
opular educ
essed the V

neither free
at we may no
ation has se
anism, and t
tion to all

valier's rer
ir tail. Re
have live

rmudas ha
bad sent e
ists there
mudians. b
ws. that no
tiful lines
note Bern

ment. These four bodies were urging Charles not only to accept the Covenant and the Kirk, and to recognise the authority of Parliament, but also to declare his regret for the sins of his father, and his grandfather, King James, and for the idolatry of his mother, Henriette Maria. While the Treaty was going on, the unco guid Commissioners were, on their side, much scandalized by an inveterate propensity on the part of their Sovereign Lord for "balling and dancing almost every night till day-break".

In Ireland, Cromwell was doing his work of blood and iron. The terror caused by the slaughter at Drogheda, Kilkenny, and at other places was becoming universal, but, at Clonmel which he was now besieging, and which was defended by Hugh O'Neill, he was having some of the hottest fighting that befell him at any time in his victorious career.

Jersey, under Carteret, and the Scilly Isles, under Sir John Grenville, held out for the King.

The English colonies at this time comprised New England, Virginia and the Bermudes, in North America; and Barbados, Antigua, one half of St. Kitts (the French owning the other half), Nevis, Montserrat and Surinam, in South America.

Of New England, Lord Clarendon says in his cynical way—

New England had been too much allied to all the conspiracies and combinations against the Crown, not to be very well pleased that men of their own principles prevailed and settled a government themselves were delighted with.

This is no doubt a delightfully spiteful bit of word setting from the pen of the Chancellor, but generations have since risen that have regarded the conduct of the early Puritan Pilgrims from a very different point of view.

Virginia had declared emphatically for the King, the Colonists of the Old Dominion warmly adopting the Royal cause, under the leadership of their Governor, Sir William Berkeley, a gallant and most loyal gentleman who is noted not so much for the long duration of his commission as Governor of Virginia, namely 38 years, as for the somewhat unadvanced views, as they would now-a-days be regarded, which he held upon popular education and newspapers. He once addressed the Virginians thus:—

Thanks be to God we have neither free schools nor printing presses, and I hope that we may not have any for a hundred years; for education has sent into the world doubt, heresy, and sectarianism, and the printing press has propagated in addition to all these evils attacks against Governments.

The sting of the old Cavalier's remarks evidently is to be found in their tail. Rest his soul in peace! How could he, have lived, in these days?

The colonists of the Bermudas had not only declared for the King, but had sent emissaries to Barbados to ask the colonists there to do the same, and to assist the Bermudians by supplying them with arms. This shows that notwithstanding Andrew Marvell's beautiful lines, those who had settled "where the remote Bermudas ride,"

had not all done so to be safe from the "Prelate's rage"!

Barbados and the Leeward Islands, although now full of Cavaliers, among them being many who had been officers in the late King's army, had not yet declared for the King. In Barbados, Roundhead and Cavalier had for some years lived peacefully, as is told by Richard Ligon, gentleman, in whose History we read that the Planters made a law amongst themselves, that whosoever named the word *Roundhead* or *Cavalier*, should give to those that heard him 'a shot and a turkey'—a shot being a young hog—to be eaten at his house who made the forfeiture, which sometimes was done purposely, that they might enjoy the company of one another. The worthy old gentleman adds that, "sometimes this shot and this 'turkey would draw on a dozen dishes more, if 'company were accordingly : so frank, so loving, 'and so good-natured were those gentlemen 'one to another." But, alas, old times were changed—old manners gone, and Captain Philip Bell, the Governor, had now hot work in trying to suppress the simmering of disaffection to the Commonwealth, which was so soon to flare up into an open declaration for the King.

It was while things were so with the Commonwealth at home and abroad, that Charles the Second, being at Breda, and having basely and falsely denied his connection with the undertaking of Montrose, for which that too devoted loyalist was then about to lose his life, signed a Treaty with the Scottish Commissioners by which His

most Sacred Majesty, over-desirous of an earthly crown, pledged himself to uphold the Covenant and Presbytery all the days of his life, and so forth. But this was not all, he actually pledged himself thereafter to declare his regret for certain sins of his father and his grandfather, and for the "idolatry" of his mother, as her Roman Catholicism was not very charitably described. This act of filial piety was perpetrated on the 23rd day of May, in the Old Style of reckoning, or the 13th, in the New Style.

On that same 13th of May, far over sea, the Cavaliers of Barbados, under the leadership of Colonel Humphrey Walfrond and his brother Edward, two gentlemen from Devonshire, having quietly made themselves masters of the Island, issued the following proclamation :—

IN THE ISLAND BARBADAS,

May the third An. Dom.

1650.

CHARLES STUART,

Son to the late King, was with great solemnity proclaimed King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland &c Immediately thereupon the Booke of Common Prayer was declared, to be the only Pattern of true worship, And commanded to be distinctly, and duly read in every Parish Church, every Lords Day &c.

H. GOVLDVVELL
Secretary.

In order to enter into the feelings of these Cavalier colonists it is necessary to know something of the history of the times in which they lived. First then of the Proclaiming of *Charles Stuart* to

be King of England, &c.; this was treason of the rankest kind, for, not only had the Parliament abolished kingship, shortly after the execution of the late Monarch, but a Proclamation had been issued in England that, no person whatsoever should presume to declare Charles Stuart, 'son of the late Charles,' commonly called the Prince of Wales, or any other person to be King, or chief Magistrate, of England, or Ireland, or of any dominions belonging thereto, by colour of inheritance, succession, election, or any other claim whatsoever, and, that, whoever contrary to the Act in this case made, presumed to proclaim King Charles, should be "deemed and adjudged a traitor," and suffer accordingly. As to the Stuarts themselves, the Merry Monarch, as has been already seen, was then an exile on the Continent: so was his brother, the Duke of York, afterwards known as James the Second, while the noble-spirited Duke of Gloucester, or Master Henry Stuart as he was then called, was at the time a State prisoner in England, Cromwell's idea, that it would be a good thing to bring the lad up to a trade—with a preference for a shoemaker's, not being, however, carried into effect.

Again, the Cavaliers of Barbados declared the *Book of Common Prayer* to be the only pattern of *True Worship* in their Island. In England, not only had the use of the Book of Common Prayer been for years abolished, but it was highly penal to make use of it, while the use of the "Directory of Public Worship," the work of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, was enforced under

penalty. Even on the sad occasion of the burial of the late King at Windsor, when Bishop Juxon wished to use the Burial Service in the Prayer Book, Colonel Whichcote, the Governor of the Castle, positively and roughly refused to allow it, saying:—"It was not lawful: that the *Common Prayer Book* was put down, and he "would not suffer it to be used in that garrison "where he commanded;" and Lord Clarendon adds, "nor could all the Reason, Persuasions, and "Entreaties, prevail with him to suffer it."

The mention of *Parish Churches* where the *Prayer Book* was to be *distinctly and duly read every Lord's Day* recalls the fact that the Church of England had been swept away, and the Presbytery had taken its place, while Archbishops and Bishops had been abolished, as also had been Deans, and Arch Deacons, and all other Church Officers, down to the humblest. Some persons had even raised the question of pulling down the Cathedrals, on the ground that unless "the nests were destroyed the birds would re- "turn to them," while during the Civil War Roundheads and Cavaliers had alike used these holy places as barracks and stables; and it is recorded more especially against the Roundheads that their horses had not only been stabled under the roof of St. Paul's, but had even been fed at the High Altar of that Cathedral.

CHAPTER II.

Founding the British Empire in the West Indies.

Some to the wars, to try their fortunes there ;
Some to discover Islands far away.

" Barbados, that splendid Island, my father at
" his first settling those parts rejected, for the
" great want of water was then upon it natu-
" rally, yet art and industry have supplied those
" defects with cisterns, &c., so that miriads of
" people are furnished." Thus wrote Colonel
Philip Warner from the Tower of London, on the
17th of April, 1676, to Sir Robert Southwell,
the writer, who had been " alwaies from 16
" yeares of age employed in His Majestie's
" Millitary and Civill affaires," being then a
State Prisoner. And so it came about that,
for want of water at Barbados, that " worthy
" industrious gentleman," Sir Thomas Warner,
having rejected this island, set about laying the
foundation of British Empire in the West Indian
Islands at St. Christopher's, where, on the 28th
of January, 1623, he was made welcome by
King Togleman, the Carib Chief of the Island,
and allowed to plant himself and his companions
at what has long been called Old Road, a spot

where water abounds, as on either side a copious stream rushes headlong into the Bay beneath.

Although Sir Thomas Warner did not make a settlement at Barbados, the Island is distinctly named in his first Commission as the King's Lieutenant in the Caribbee Islands, which bears date on the 13th of September, 1625, and was granted to him at the instance of the Earl of Carlisle. This fact has some bearing upon the question of the proprietorship of the Island, which was afterwards in debate between the Earls of Carlisle and Pembroke, and, indeed, touched the pocket of the Earl of Marlborough also.

Englishmen who were venturesome enough to make settlements in the West Indies in those times did so at their peril, for the Spaniards, who then dominated Portugal also and Portugal's Colonies, still claimed the exclusive right to the Continent and Islands of the New World which they had set up at the time of the Discovery, and which had been affirmed to them by Papal Bull, and the assertion of which had provoked Francis the First to declare his desire "to see the clause in Adam's will which entitled his brothers of Castile and Portugal to divide the New World between them." The power of Spain had now however been on the wane for some years, and its Empire, though still potent, no longer overshadowed the other Nations of Europe as it had done in the days of Philip the Second and Charles the Fifth : while, long before this, there were Englishmen, French-

men, and Hollanders, stout-hearted enough to transport themselves over sea, and, despite of Pope and Spaniard, to plant themselves on the "newly found-out lands" of North and South America. It is true that the settlements these pioneers had as yet made were very small, but out of these small beginnings greater things were to grow; and thus, as the giant Republic of the United States and the flourishing Dominion of Canada have been developed from the infant English, French, and Dutch, plantations on the James River, at Plymouth, and on the St. Lawrence and the Hudson, so are, in a small way, the once wealthy, and still valuable, West Indian Colonies of England, France, and Holland, the outcome of the early settlements on the 'Wild Coast' of South America, as Guiana was called in the olden time.

Of the numerous attempts at settlements which had been made by the English at various ports along the coast line of the country which lies between the Amazon and the Orinoko, none had hitherto attained much success, and Captain Warner, afterwards Sir Thomas, (who had been an officer of King James's Body Guard) having gone out with Captain Roger North to the plantation on the Surinam, there met Captain Thomas Painton, "a very experienced seaman", who suggested to him how much easier it would be to establish and maintain a colony in one of the small islands which were despised and neglected by the Spaniards, and it is said that Captain Painton particularly recommended for this purpose the island of St. Christopher's. Warner re-

turned to England in 1620, and being joined by another Suffolk gentleman, Captain John Jeaffreson, and supported by Mr. Ralph Merrifield, a London merchant, the colonizing of St. Christopher's was undertaken and begun in 1623, as already stated. Up to this time there had been no real attempt on the part of the English to settle any of the West Indian Islands, for the *fiasco* at St. Lucia in 1605; when Sir Oliver Leagh's ship the "Olive Blossom" put in there, after touching at Barbados on her way to Master Charles Leagh's plantation on the Wiapoco, cannot be considered an act of colonization.

The Spaniards had themselves neglected the smaller islands, for the Empires which Cortez and Pizarro had conquered in Mexico and Peru, and the vast territories which their lieutenants had subdued in Venezuela, and other parts of the Continent, together with the old colonies in the noble islands of San Domingo, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico, attracted almost all the emigrants that left Spain to seek their fortunes in the New World. The fine island of Trinidad had become the home of a scant number of Spaniards, and some islets near the Main were resorted to by others for pearl fishing; but the islands now comprised in the Leeward and Windward Governments, and those now under the French and Danish flags, had been left to the Caribs who dwelt in them, or resorted to them untroubled by the white men who visited them from time to time, only in search of wood and water, or of a place for mustering their men.

The Spanish galleons and the carracks of Portugal often touched at these Islands but oftener passed them by, and it appears that Barbados very seldom saw them. It chanced, however, in 1563, that Pedro à Campos, when on a voyage to Margaritha, fell short of water, when luckily for him, "he" "fortuned to fall in with Barbados, and, being "becalmed, went ashore near the river formerly "called ye Indian river but in ye map, Fonta- "belle." Finding water, he felt himself bound to give the Island a name, which it has since borne. He likewise "left hoggs to breed upon "it, which ye Indians of St. Vincent coming "to know, they did some years after often visit "it for hunting."

If the way was not clear for English colonists to settle in the West Indies, it had, at all events, been made by the days of Queen Elizabeth, when many a hero who had fought against the Armada or had helped to singe the King of Spain's beard at Cadiz, sought the Caribbean Sea as a happy hunting ground for the Spanish treasure ships. Hither came, in 'shippes,' in 'barkes,' in 'pin- nesses,' many a gallant English gentleman, who followed the lead of such famous commanders as Sir Francis Drake, Sir Walter Rawleigh, Sir John Hawkins, Sir Martin Frobisher, Sir Richard Grenville, and the bold Earl of Cumberland, with other leaders of less renown, like Vernon, Knollys, and Winter; and so they scoured the Caribbean Sea and the Mexique Bay, now plun- dering the Plate ships, now landing and wrestling

with the Spaniard within his Treasure houses, and sacking these, and, generally dealing the Don such swashing blows as not only made him reel, but also broke his power of invading England. Surely, the doughty deeds of the Elizabethan seamen gave cause for the Spanish proverb "Peace with England: War with the rest of the world!"

The English had not, however, a monopoly of mauling and plundering the Spaniard. The French did something in that way. The Hollanders also,—who, under the leadership of William the Silent, had so nobly broken the bloody yoke of iron which Spain had imposed upon them in Philip the Second's time, and had, with the aid of Queen Elizabeth, set up as an independent people, though their independence was not yet recognized by their aforetime tyrants,—with unflagging zeal pursued their purpose of spoiling the Spaniard and breaking up his monopoly of the New World. Wherever they found their oppressor they set upon and smote him hip and thigh, while, regardless of consequences, they planted themselves on the banks of the various rivers of the Wild Coast, and even preceded the English in making settlements in the West Indian Islands. In the year that Sir Thomas Warner made his home at St. Christopher's, the Hollanders had eight hundred vessels employed in commerce and warfare in the West Indies; and in the next thirteen years they captured from the Spaniards and Portuguese, prizes to the value of two and a half millions sterling,

or equal to about nine millions nowadays in purchasing power. This was, in part, the manner in which these Netherlanders paid off the cruelties inflicted upon them during the persecution of Philip, Alva, and the Inquisition.

During the time of the bloody tyranny of the Duke of Alva, there fled to England, from Menden in the Netherlands, a family named Courteen or Cortin. The father entered upon trade in London, prospered, and died, leaving his sons William and Peter very well off. These entered into partnership, in 1606, William remaining in London, and Peter establishing himself at Middleburgh in Zealand. They did a vast business, but, their joint operations appear to have been insufficient for the ambition of William Courteen, who made large ventures to all sorts of outlandish places, as these were at the time esteemed; and in, or about 1625, he even petitioned the King, pointing out that the lands in the south part of the world were not yet traded to by the King's subjects, and praying for a grant of all such lands, with power to discover the same and to plant colonies thereon. As the Courteens became extremely rich, they were honoured by the notice of the Stuart Kings, James and Charles, who were graciously pleased to borrow very large sums of money from them, with somewhat painful results to the lenders. Both the brothers, however, received the further honour of Knighthood.

Quite in the way of their business the Courteens sent out privateers to prey upon the

Spaniards in the West Indies. In 1624, one of these privateers, when returning from Brazil, made Barbados, and, putting into the road since called Austin's, made a short stay there, 'visiting all ye bays in ye West and Southerne parts of ye Island'. Those aboard this vessel found the land "to promise much of the nature of "Brazil", and "adorned with curious prospects rather than mountaines, and stored with wild hogs". They "judged it worth especial notice". In a short time, Sir Peter informed his brother that Barbados was "an island not inhabited by any nation, of a good soyl, and very fit for a plantation". Simultaneously, Captain John Powell, who had been in Courteen's privateer when he touched at Barbados, presented his observations to the Lord Chamberlain, Philip Herbert, Earl of Montgomery and afterwards Earl of Pembroke, a great favourer of plantations, as was his brother William, then Earl of Pembroke. The latter is the Pembroke referred to in the ~~first~~ ^{third} line of the charming verse upon their mother's tomb, which is somewhat questionably ascribed to Ben Jonson, and which begins: *runo*

"Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother."

These brothers were both patrons of a great poet, and thus to them was given the enviable distinction of the dedication of the first collected Edition of "Mr. William Shakespeare's *Comedies Histories and Tragedies*, published according to the "true original copies, by Isaac Jaggard and "Edward Blount, London 1623." They entered into the colonizing spirit which Shakespeare in

various places pourtrays, as in the following example taken from the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* :

- " He wondered, that your Lordship
 " Would suffer him to spend his youth at home;
 " While other men of slender reputation,
 " Put forth their sons to seek preferment out.
 " Some, to the wars to try their fortunes there;
 " Some to discover Islands far away;
 " Some, to the studious Universities".



CHAPTER III.

Colonizing in the Olden Time.

Nos Patriæ fines et dulcia linguimus arva.

On the 26th of January, 1625, a vessel called the *William and John*, of 100 tons, owned and commanded by Captain John Powell, and fitted out at the expense of Sir William Courteen, left London with 60 emigrants, all men, who were going to make a settlement at Barbados. This vessel was in every way provided with things necessary for planting and fortifying the Island, where she arrived on the 2nd of May, 1626. In those days the old year ended on the 24th of March, and the new year began on the 25th. The *William and John's* passage was not exceptionally long, for the three months thus occupied would be in part spent at the Western Islands,

to which, in these early times, vessels bound to the West Indies usually resorted for provisions, which they obtained there by traffic with the islanders.

These first colonists established themselves near the Hole, as it is now called, where they built a small town which they named James Town. It was near this very spot that the emigrants by the *Olive Blossom* had landed in 1605, on which occasion some of Master Charles Leigh's companions set up a cross with the legend "James, ~~King of England~~ and of this Island." Courteen's colonists took possession of the island, continuing its name of Barbados, and hoisted the King of England's colours in the first fort they raised. Later in the same year two other vessels, the *Peter* and the *Thomasine*, arrived at Barbados, bringing men and women servants, and a large supply of provisions. All these vessels were furnished at the cost of Sir William Courteen, who undertook to found a colony at Barbados under the patronage of Philip Herbert, then Earl of Montgomery. More vessels came in the following year with more supplies and more colonists, although it is not very clear that up to this time any particular cultivation had been taken in hand. The settlers, however, hunted the wild hogs which were found on the island.

Barbados was found to be wholly uninhabited, a state of things which had its disadvantages as well as its advantages, and in 1627 the colonists were in a miserable condition. It appeared, however, that Captain John Powell, the Governor,

had been an old comrade in arms, in the King of Spain's service, of Captain Gromwegle, a Dutchman who in 1616 had established a colony in the River Essequibo, in Guiana, and to him Powell sent his son John Powell, the younger, with an urgent request that Gromwegle should send such things as were proper to plant for food and for trade. The Governor of the Essequibo entered heartily into his friend's wishes, and not only procured the plants but also persuaded a family of about 40 Arrawacks to accompany young Powell on his return to Barbados; the Indians stipulating that, if at the end of two years they wished to return to the Essequibo they should be free to do so then, when they were to receive as payment for their services, fifty pounds sterling in axes, bills, hoes, knives, looking-glasses and beads. In this way, did one portion of what is now the Colony of British Guiana, send to Barbados various plants to which the Island was up to that time quite a stranger. Now were introduced into that colony cassava, yams, Indian corn, plantains, bannanas, oranges, lemons, limes, pine-apples, and melons. Tobacco, cotton, and annotto, were at the same time sent over.

The Indians set to planting as soon as they arrived, and, as what they planted grew, the colony soon became well furnished with the necessities of life. Tobacco and cotton were cultivated for export, and in 1628, there were some eighteen plantations, including the *Corn Plantation*, the *Fort Plantation*, the *Indian Bridge Plantation*, the *Indian Plantation Eastward*, and

Powell's Plantation. By this time there was a population of about 1850, men, women, and children, English and Indians ; several houses had been built, and some forts raised and mounted with guns. John Powell, the elder, sailed from the colony this year, leaving his son John as Governor of the Colony.

It was while things were in this hopeful condition that Captain Charles Wolverstone arrived from St. Christophers with about 70 men. Wolverstone who brought a letter of recommendation from Lord Carlisle to Governor Powell, was allowed to land, when he talked over some of the colonists, seized Plantation Fort, imprisoned the Governor, and himself assumed the Government, for which he had a commission from Lord Carlisle. The Courteen colonists took up arms and there was very nearly a fight between the two parties, bloodshed being prevented only by the intervention of the Reverend Mr. Kentlane, who induced the opponents to let their two noble patrons, Lords Carlisle and Montgomery, decide the question between themselves. In January of the following year, 1629, Captain Henry Powell, brother of the elder Captain John Powell, arrived from England with 80 men, and a supply of small shot, recovered the Island to the Courteen interest, released his nephew John from prison, and carried Wolverstone himself as a prisoner to England. But in the April following there was yet another turn of Fortune's wheel. It came about thus : In order to enquire into some contentions among the colonists of Nevis, four Com-

missioners were sent out by Lord Carlisle, this year. The ship carrying the Commissioners, "with a rude company of people from London," called at Barbados, where one of them, Captain Henry Hawley, a man of very determined character, was to take steps firmly to establish the Carlisle interest, which was supposed to be then dominant, but was not so, owing to the putting out of Wolverstone by Captain Henry Powell. The Commissioners were, however, courteously entertained by Governor John Powell, whom they, in return, invited to come aboard their ship with his Secretary, and eat a "Kretishett of brenes" (?) The Governor and his Secretary "not thinking any harm did goe," when they were treacherously made prisoners and carried off the Island, Mr. Robert Whettely, a Merchant from London, being left as Governor for Lord Carlisle. Enraged by this act of treachery, the Courteen colonists took up arms, attacked the Carlisle men, but were driven back by them, and the island was thus finally lost to Sir William Courteen.

These violent changes in the government of the colony were caused by the rival claims of the Earl of Carlisle and Montgomery to the proprietorship of Barbados, and which were warmly disputed by each at the English Court. Something has already been said of Lord Montgomery. It may be added, that he soon afterwards succeeded to the ancient Earldom of Pembroke and the possession of Wilton, and, in the ensuing troubles, he, with the Earls of Northumberland and Essex, was one

of the principal of those nobles who supported the popular cause. Lord Clarendon and other cavalier writers have sneered at him, but in years to come he will no doubt be regarded as having done more to build up the liberties of Englishmen than did the author of the *History of the Rebellion*. The Earl of Carlisle was one of those "beggary Scots" who were so much the gainers by the Union of the Crowns of England and Scotland, as Sir Walter Rawlegh had foreseen, they would be. Coming into England as Sir James Hay, of Pitcorthie in Fifeshire, and a scion of a cadet branch of the Erroll family, he quickly developed into Baron Hay, and then into Viscount Doncaster, from whom he was finally evolved as Earl of Carlisle. He was a favorite, and a most fortunate favorite. Being a man of handsome face, and fascinating manners, no doubt cultivated by the education he had received in France, he was altogether a *persona grata* to the Scotch Solomon, and, as that worthy monarch had a particular weakness for sending embassies to the Courts of Europe, who so fit, as the good-looking, ~~strong~~ Earl of Carlisle. The king's craze for embassies, when he should have sent armies, was indeed made sport of by people on the Continent. A pasquinade of the day said "The Palsgrave will soon have a large army, as the King of England is about to send over 100,000 men". "What; soldiers?" "No: ambassadors!" Lord Carlisle was one of the 100,000. His lordship made himself more at home in England than did any other Scotchman of the

showy

day. He married an English wife, and when she died he married another. His first was an heiress, his second was a beauty and a politician; the famous Lady Carlisle, described by Edmund Waller as "A Venus rising from a sea of jet," as she appeared in early widowhood. The active part she played in the history of England in the Troubles is well known, and her intimacy with Strafford and then with his deadly enemy 'King' Pym, shows her to have been a very extraordinary woman. The Earl, her husband, was not a politician so much as an epicurean. He liked to take the world pleasantly, to fare sumptuously off the fat of the land, and to adorn his handsome person with finery; and when he disported himself arrayed at an expense of what would now be £150,000, he was perfectly happy, while the world felt that there was something to live for when my Lord of Carlisle invented or displayed a ruff of a new style. He got all he could, and he spent all he got, and more too; when he died he left debts to be paid, and Barbados alone to pay for them.

It was while the Earl of Carlisle was suffering from insufficiency of income that Marmaduke Rawden, from whom he had borrowed a large sum of money, and other merchants of London, who were interested in Warner's settlement at St. Kitts, prevailed ^{on} my lord to obtain a grant of the West India Islands which ~~some~~ ^{he} included Barbados, where Courteen's settlement had excited their covetousness. On the 2nd of July, 1627, therefore, a grant was passed to the Earl of

nearly all the Islands from Sombbrero to Grenada, and including Barbados, described as "the Carribees," but which places were to be known as the "Carlisle or Islands of Carlisle Province." And there was a condition for the payment of a yearly rent of £100 to the Crown, and for the presentation of a white horse when the king, his heirs, and successors, should come into those parts. Before this grant passed the seal, Lord Carlisle bound himself to pay £300 a-year, from the revenues of Barbados, for ever, to the Earl of Marlborough, and his heirs, in consideration of the nobleman's foregoing his claim to a grant of Barbados for which he proved that he had received a promise. On the 25th of the February following, while Lord Carlisle was away on an embassy, King Charles granted the islands of Barbados, Trinidad, Tobago, and Fonseca, to Lord Montgomery, then Lord Chamberlain, it being stipulated that a wedge of gold of a pound in weight should be given to the King, when he, his heirs, or successors, should come into those parts, but, on the Earl of Carlisle's return, Barbados was again mentioned in a fresh grant made to him, on the 7th April, of the islands which had been included in his patent of the 2nd of July previously.

The "foul debate twixt noblemen" which these conflicting grants fostered, ceased only when Lord Keeper Cowentry reported to the King upon their respective claims. This he did on the 18th of April 1629, his Lordship's opinion, being, after hearing Sir Thomas Button, John Watts, and

"other seamen of great note," that Barbados was not one of "the Carribees," but, though not one, Lord Coventry was of opinion that the proof on the Earl of Carlisle's part that Barbados was intended to be passed, in his patent, was very strong. This was no doubt a just judgment, so far as the Lord Keeper was concerned; and the Earl of Carlisle was thus able to hold the King to his bond, but, so far as the King's duty lay, he should have revoked his inequitable grants to that lord, and have confirmed the ownership of the island in Lord Montgomery. The great civil lawyers of the day held that the right lay with the latter and Courteen, and based their opinion upon the actual settlement made by these, and quoted the maxim, *Non poterit rex gratiam facere cum injuria et damno aliorum quod autem alienum est dare non potest suam gratiam*, in support of their contention. In accordance with the Lord Keeper's report, Royal instructions were sent to the Governor of Barbados declaring Lord Carlisle's title to Barbados to be of full strength and virtue and none other to have force.

Having thus accomplished his covetous desires, the Earl of Carlisle on the 25th of May appointed Sir William Tufton, a kinsman of the Earl of Thanet, to be Governor of Barbados, for four years "upon good behaviour." Sir William arrived in the colony in September 1629, but appears not to have given satisfaction to the Lord proprietor, for, on the 15th of March 1630 his Lordship commissioned the fire-eating Captain, Henry Hawley, as Governor, with power to establish a council,

and to depose Sir William Tufton "by force if need be."

With some intervals during which he visited England, Captain Henry Hawley governed Barbados from 1630 to 1640, by which time he had come to set at defiance the authority of the second Earl of Carlisle, who, in consequence of his father's death in 1636 had become proprietor of the colony. The first high-handed act which Hawley perpetrated was to cause Sir William Tufton and two others to be arraigned for mutiny before Sir Walter Calverley, Master Reynold Alleyne, and other councillors, who, to their undying disgrace, sentenced the accused to death, and these were accordingly in August 1630, shot. "*The people of the Island do generally say Sir William Tufton had severe measure.*" This was not the only occasion on which Hawley shewed himself a Governor who intended to brook no brother near the Throne. Sir Henry Huncks was appointed Governor of Barbados in March 1639, and his appointment was confirmed by the King; but, when he arrived in Barbados in the July following, he found that Hawley had "got there before him, called in all commissions, proclaimed all offices void, made the gaol delivery a day of mercy, chosen Burgesses, and settled a Parliament," and Sir Henry was not allowed to read his commission, but was ordered to give it up, or his person would be seized. The King's letter was slighted, Captain Hawley disputing Lord Carlisle's proprietorship of the Island. "The Parliament" came to a resolution to choose

Hawley, Governor, and he was proclaimed "with the greatest scorn" towards Lord Carlisle. Further, Sir Henry Huncks was threatened to be pistolled if he demanded the Government, and he was forced to leave the Island, whence he sailed to Antigua. Hawley's rather independent line of action resulted in thirteen charges being preferred against him to the King, among them being one of his having ordered the discontinuance of the prayers which were usually said in Church for Lord Carlisle. Besides much more serious offences, he is said to have acted "in a most irreverent and saucy manner." In June 1640, Commissioners from King Charles "in the business between the Earl of Carlisle and Captain "Hawley" arrived at Barbados. Hawley formally resigned the Government, and with his principal abettors, acknowledged his offence, and gave in his submission. He was sent to England in custody of one of the Commissioners, but afterwards returned to Barbados, where he lived for many years, and held a good position.

The Commissioners sent for Sir Henry Huncks from Antigua, but that gentleman, after assuming, soon relinquished the Government of the Island into the hands of Captain Philip Bell, who governed the colony with marked success from the 18th of June, 1641, till May, 1650. Captain Bell had 'a plentiful estate' in the colony, and, having already been Governor of Bermuda and then of *Old Providence*, it is not to be wondered at that his rule was very beneficial to the colony. The colonists prospered wonderfully in his time,

and with their consent some useful Laws were made. In his time the Legislature of the colony was remodelled, and a Council of twelve, and an Assembly of twenty-two members, were established.

While Governors came and Governors went, the Church of England took root and flourished in the colony. Between 1630 and 1637 six churches, besides some chapels, had been built, the care of the parishes being committed to some of the principal men in each parish, "who are called the Vestry, and have power to place and displace their Ministers, and to allow them yearly stipend." There were no tithes, but each parish taxed itself to pay its Minister. But the Rev. Thomas Lane, when writing to Archbishop Laud, on the 6th of October, 1637, gave a somewhat gloomy picture of a Clergyman's position in those days. He said the Governor chose the Ministers, and agreed with them as he pleased, "whereby we are made and esteemed no better than mercenaries." The application of a Poll Tax, from which the Clergy were not exempted, seems to have vexed the good man's soul. They were compelled to pay "for the very heads upon their shoulders, for the heads of their wives, and children above the age of seven." The clergy themselves paid the parish clerks out of their own means. Parson Lane seems have recognized his own superiority to those around him when he exclaimed "What can be expected where ignorance both of the laws of God and men doth domineer!" He hoped the Archbishop

would provide a remedy for their burdens, and, knowing the Laudian thoroughness of purpose, he added that it was time for "authority to set " to her helping hand."

Thus much for Church and State. Meanwhile, large numbers of colonists had arrived, so that in 1636 there were about 6,000 English on the island, 766 of whom were land-holders, each occupying ten or more acres of land, for which they paid rent to the ~~land~~ proprietor in so many pounds of cotton yearly. In this year a law was passed which authorized the sale of Negroes and Indians for life. From that date the Slave-Trade became a feature of the commerce of the colony. Indians were sometimes brought from the *Main*, but not in large numbers. These poor children of the forest met with but foul play from the early colonists, and this from the very beginning, for the Arawacks who were taken over in 1627 by the younger Powell were made slaves of, and not allowed to return notwithstanding the agreement made with them in Essequibo. Husbands and wives, parents and children, were separated from one another. In 1631, one of these Indians got on board a Dutch ship which was going to Essequibo, and made it rather unpleasant for Governor Gromwegle, at whose instance the Arawacks had gone to Barbados. The old Dutchman found it necessary to marry a Carib wife to fortify himself against the wrath of the Arawacks and afterwards had to make valuable presents to the latter to retain their goodwill to the Dutch. Some

Lord /

of the Indians were liberated by Sir George Ayescue ; of others he could not hear. It was only during the time that Sir Robert Harley was Chancellor of Barbados, from whom Lord Willoughby "took the seals" in 1664, that the remainder of the Indians were freed. "It hath been observed that a curse attended most of those persons concerned in that horrid breach of faith" observed an old writer. The famous story of *Inkle and Yariko*, so poetically dealt with by Sir Richard Steele in the *Spectator*, is an instance of the infamy of which man is capable. An English ship was on the coast of Guiana, where some of the sailors landed : all of these except one, name Inkle, were taken by the natives and put to death. Inkle escaped to the woods, where he was discovered and taken care of by Yariko, a beautiful Indian girl, whose charms old Mr. Ligon describes most precisely. She fell in love with Inkle. It was history repeating itself in the old, old story—

"A smooth-tongued sailor won her to his mind ;
(For love deceives the best of woman-kind.)
A sudden trust, from sudden liking grew ;
She told her name, her race, and all she knew."

One day Inkle and Yariko managed to get on board ship, and were taken to Barbados. At Barbados, Inkle sold Yariko as a slave. The wretch ! Master Richard Ligon who tells the story, which has awakened so much sympathy for Yariko's wrongs from that time to this, and will do so as long as humanity lasts, seems to

have found the Indian woman Yariko ^{an adept} "at taking out chigoes from the feet!"

Although Sir William Courteen was dispossessed of his property by Lord Carlisle in 1629, the Merchant Prince of his time had invested in Barbados sums amounting to the value of £200,000 in these times, which were almost wholly lost to him. He made an overture to the chief intruders, that upon payment of what would now be represented by about £90,000, he would grant the Islanders estates in fee simple, so that they might become freeholders according to law, but they answered, "*As they got the Island by Power they would keep it by Force!*" Having lent several great sums of money for his "most urgent affairs" to King Charles, "which yet remained unsatisfied;" having suffered by the destruction of his factory at Amboyna a further loss which would be valued at, now-a-days, over £300,000 for his share alone,—his disasters were completed by the loss of two ships which were returning from China and Japan richly laden. He died soon after this crushing blow, in May 1636—just three months after Lord Carlisle left this world—at the age of 64, and was buried in the church of St. Andrew Hubbard, in London.

The connection of Sir William Courteen with Barbados was, however, of lasting benefit to the colony, for his own Dutch connection in business matters, no doubt brought about that traffic with the Hollanders which proved of such vast advantage to Barbados until the passing of the Navigation Act. The Dutchman brought negroes of whom,

in 1645, there were between 6000 and 7000 in the Island, and everything else that was wanted; and the Islanders plodded along, planting tobacco chiefly, but also cotton and ginger. The cultivation of tobacco was overdone in the colonies, and the English government thought its production should be restricted. Accordingly, in 1631, the Privy Council wrote to Lord Carlisle that "the great abuse of Tobacco, to the enervation of both body and courage, was so notorious" that the King directed the planting of it to be limited in St. Christophers, Barbados, and the places under Lord Carlisle's command, until such time as more staple commodities might be raised there. No other than sweet, wholesome, and well packed up tobacco was to be exported, and that, delivered at the port of London only. *to be*

In 1637 a plant was introduced into Barbados which was to cause a great change in the colony's fortunes. In that year, Captain Peter Brower, a North Hollander, first brought the sugar cane to the Island, from Brazil. Its introduction is described as having come about "by accident". At first the only use to which the cane juice was applied was for making some kind of drink that was found to be refreshing in the hot climate. Colonel Holdip was the first planter who made sugar in Barbados. This was somewhere about 1640, but it was only in 1645 that the sugar industry had become thoroughly established, and then chiefly through the industry of Colonel James Drax, who made a great fortune out of his estate. At first only wishy-washy stuff was made that would hard-

ly bear transportation from the Island, and the planters made the mistake of cutting their canes at twelve, instead of fifteen, months. In time, however, after some planters had visited Brazil and learned the business, all came right, and not only were muscovadoes made, but the manufacture of "whites" was accomplished. Tobacco gradually gave place to sugar, as it was found that the land ordinarily produced as much sugar by the acre as it did of tobacco. The colonists now prospered mightily, the Dutch giving them credit, almost *ad libitum*; and supplying them with negroes, for which payment was not required until these labourers had planted a crop of canes, and that crop had been reaped and converted into sugar. Those must have been the *Good Old Times*! When the Civil War broke out in England the Dutch managed nearly the whole trade of the English West Indian colonies, and thus they furnished the Barbadian planters not only with negroes, but also with coppers, stills, and every other appliance needed by the "*ingenios*", as the sugar works were called, as also with the ordinary requisites of life.

The population of Barbados in 1643, had much increased. At that time there were 18,600 effective Englishmen on the island, of whom 8,300 were proprietors, this large number of landholders being the outcome of a system of allotting dividends of five, ten, twenty, and thirty acres of land to the colonists, and also of a Law which allowed three, four, or five acres to a 'servant,' when his time of service was out.

There were now about 6,400 negroes in the island. By 1650 the population had considerably increased, not only by the influx of negroes brought from Guinea and Bonny, but by the immigration of English settlers who 'took ship' during the troubles, or 'fled over sea' when the Royal cause was lost, hoping to find a City of Refuge.

CHAPTER IV

'Far Barbados on the Western Main.'

Et Penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.

Although Barbados was not in 1649 the highly cultivated garden that it now is, it nevertheless in that year presented a very pleasant picture to those who on board ship came near to its coast. When, in 1624, the Courteens' ship put in at that island, there was little else than dense forest to be seen, the very beach being clad with a fringe of palmetto trees; but, now, just five and twenty years afterwards, the island, excepting in its South Easterly part, was bestudded with plantations, some large, but most of them small, which, as the voyager sailed into Carlisle Bay, rose one above the other as in terraces, while the cultivated lands were set round with the woods

of the Virgin forest which still abounded, and conspicuous amidst which towered the umbrageous boughs of the silk-cotton tree. The houses of the chief Planters appeared from seaward, like castles, and their sugar houses and negroes' huts looked like so many small towns each defended by its own castle. The warlike appearance of the great houses arose from the fact that many of them were built "in the manner of Fortifications", having Lines, Bulwarks, and Bastions, for defence of the Planters in case of risings amongst the Christian servants or negro slaves. Carlisle Bay itself presented a busy scene, with English and Dutch vessels lying at anchor, and numerous boats plying to and fro, with sails and oars, quite like the stir below London Bridge in those days.

The Chief Town of the island was at that period known officially as St. Michael's Town, but it was in common speech called *The Bridge*, or *The Indian Bridge*, from a long bridge which in the earliest days had been thrown across the Indian River, which latter was a sluggish stream that emptied itself into Carlisle Bay. Owing to the lagoon aback of the Town, *The Bridge* was a very sickly place in its early days, and continued to be unhealthy in 1649. Still, men built dwelling houses and store-houses, and notwithstanding calentures, and rheums, and such like ailments besetting its denizens, the capital of the colony was a busy, prosperous, sort of place, where merchants and planters both did their business, for some of the planters were agents for the Dutch who traded with the islanders. Planters also had

store-houses in the town. There was an *Exchange Place* where these worthy people met one another to transact their common business, and especially to buy and sell sugars of sorts, both whites and muscovados, fustick-wood, and ginger, tobacco, cotton-wool, and indigo, which were the produce of the colony, and such articles as were imported from abroad for the needs of the colonists both as planters and house-keepers, and which embraced everything from coppers, taches, goudges, and sockets; linens and woollens; victuals of all kinds; swords and shoes; down to capers and beer. No doubt these old time people did not separate without talking over the latest news from Old England of the dire tragedy which was enacted in January of that year at Whitehall, or discussing the prospects of Prince Charles and of the Commonwealth, and whether the Roundheaded rebels of Westminster Hall would maintain their claim that Barbados was an integral part of the Commonwealth. To store goods that were brought from Europe was not, however, the only use of the warehouses: to *The Bridge* was daily brought the produce of the plantations. Here were camels and assinigoes, as donkeys were then called, their backs laden with leathern bags containing sugar, which was brought to town to be put into casks and chests for shipment to England, or other parts of the world, wherever the best market could be found, for as yet the famous *Navigation Act* was not even thought of. To protect the sugar from the weather, on its way to *The Bridge*, a tarred

cloth was thrown over the sugar-bags. On going back to the plantations the camels and assinigoes were laden with estates' stores and with necessities for the planters' households. Mules had not yet been introduced, and no carts could be used, as there were but few roads and those but sorry ones, very sloppy in rainy weather, and full of stumps of recently felled trees, while there were hardly any bridges, and the island abounded in gullies, for going up and down the steep sides of which the sure-footed camels and asses were found best fitted, and a good camel could carry 1,600 lb. weight. Horses were numerous, creoles as well as imported, but they were only seen at *The Bridge* when the planters came to town.

Although gold pieces might sometimes be brought to the island by vessels that had been trading with the Spaniards on the Main, the currency of the colony was established in so many pounds of sugar, of tobacco, or of cotton, and fines imposed in Courts of Justice were so paid, as they were also imposed. Barter, likewise, was often resorted to, and it was quite an ordinary thing to sell the remaining time of a Christian servant, and receive goods in exchange. Master Richard Ligon gives an amusing instance of such transactions, although, as he says, this particular case was of an exceptional kind. Our author must tell his own story. He says: "There was a planter in the island, that came to his neighbour, and said to him, neighbour I hear you have lately brought good store of servants, out of the last ship that came from England, and I

"hear withall, that you want provisions. I have
"great want of a woman servant; and would
"be glad to make exchange; if you will let me
"have some of your woman's flesh, you shall have
"some of my hogs' flesh; so the price was a groat
"a pound for the hogs' flesh, and sixpence for the
"woman's flesh. The scales were set up, and the
"planter had a maid that was extream fat, lasie,
"and good for nothing, her name was Honor;
"the man brought a great fat sow, and put it in
"one scale, and Honor was put in the other; but
"when he saw how much the maid outweighed
"his sow he broke off the bargain, and would not
"go on."

At *The Bridge* was St. Michael's Church, which gave its name to the town also. There were several taverns, chief among which were those kept by Master John Jobson and Mistress Joan Fuller, and to these the planters coming from the country resorted when they had a mind to feast themselves with fish, for at those two places they had it well dressed. It was at Master Jobson's tavern that the Council and Assembly usually held their meetings. *The Bridge* also numbered several grog shops where *Kill-Devil*, as rum was then called, was retailed. Altogether, the capital of Barbados was in those days about the size of Hounslow then; but much more important, having a trade which required the tonnage of a hundred vessels a year, these bringing all that the colonists wanted, and taking away, on their return voyages, cargoes of sugar, cotton, and indigo, of fustick, ginger, and tobacco. It is a fact, how-

ever, that while they planted tobacco for trading purposes, the Barbadians preferred to smoke the weed brought from Virginia, and they were great smokers.

Besides *The Bridge*, there were three towns in the island, Austin's, Speight's or Little Bristol, and James Town or The Hole. None of these were at the time of much consequence, although Speight's Town grew into importance afterwards when the Scotland district became settled.

And now that the sugar industry had become thoroughly established, its effect upon the distribution of land became apparent. In the infantile days of the colony, land had been allotted to the settlers in small parcels, the largest of which seems to have been of 30 acres in size; and these plots of land were looked upon as sufficient for the maintenance of a man and his family. To gain a livelihood rather than to make a fortune speedily seems to have been the leading idea in early days. But when the cultivation of the cane prospered, it was found that the making of sugar required many negroes and considerable quantities of land, and as the credit afforded by the Dutch led some of the settlers into extravagance, in a few years the properties of these fell into the hands of their more thrifty neighbours, some planters gradually enlarging their plantations to the size of several hundreds of acres. It is recorded that the estate of Captain Waterman which covered 800 acres comprised no less than 40 of the *dividends* originally allotted. The small holders of land who were thus "wormed out" by their

more careful fellow-colonists transported themselves into newer and less thickly peopled colonies, some going to Antigua, others to the North American Colonies.

The value of sugar plantations at this period may be judged of from a purchase made in 1647 by Colonel Thomas Modiford of one-half of Major Hilliard's estate. Colonel Modiford was a gentleman of Devonshire, of the Royalist Party, who transported himself to Barbadoes, with substantial means and with good credit, and was desirous of buying an estate and becoming a planter in Barbados. Not long after his arrival in the colony, when on a visit to Governor Bell, the Colonel fell into the company of Major Hilliard, a member of Council, and one of the chief planters of the colony, who was anxious to return to England, and very glad to find some one seeking an investment. The two gentlemen went from the Governor's to Major Hilliard's plantation, where a treaty was begun, and at the end of a month, a bargain was made by which Colonel Modiford bought half of the plantation as it stood, for which he was to pay £7,000, of which £1,000 was to be in hand, and the rest in instalments of £2,000, at six and six months. The whole of the plantation was therefore worth £14,000, which would be represented by about £50,000 of money now-a-days.

The plantation referred to, covered 500 acres, of which somewhat more than 200 were in sugar, about 80 were for pasture, 120 for wood, 30 for tobacco, 5 for ginger, as many for cotton, and 70

for provisions, the last mentiqued including "corn, "potatoes, plantines, cassavie, and bonavist;" and fruit trees, namely, "pines, plantines, milions, "bonanoes, guavers, water milions, oranges, li-mon, limes, &c., most of these onely for the "table." On the estate stood 'a fair dwelling house'; an ingenio placed in a room 400 feet square; a boiling house, filling room, cisterns, and still-house; with a carding house, 100 feet long and 40 feet wide; with stables, smiths' forge, and rooms for storing corn and bonavist. There were also houses, or rather huts for the Christian servants and slaves, the servants numbering 28, and the negro slaves 96, besides three Indian women, with their children. The live stock comprised 45 cattle for work, 8 milch cows, 12 horses and mares, and 16 assinigos.

The Christian servants were mostly persons whose services had been bought by the planters for five years, but some of them had come to the colony under indenture of service for the same term. Of the former class some were felons bought out of Newgate, but many were English, Scotch, or Irish prisoners, taken in battle: the majority of them seem to have been Scotsmen, whose countrymen came to feel that "to Barbados men", as the term in vogue was, meant nothing less than to send them into a very cruel form of slavery, and accordingly, when some of the Commonwealth's soldiers fell into the hands of the Scottish army, the Highlanders put all their prisoners to death, saying "they had no Barbados to send them to". Much depended upon the

master into whose hands the Christian servants fell, but, as a rule, these people seem to have had exceedingly hard measure. In 1649, their treatment was better than it had been, but, only two years before, such was the cruelty of the masters that there was a general conspiracy among the servants to rise upon their employers, slay them, and themselves to take possession of the island: a servant employed by Judge Hother-sole, however, gave information of the plot, and so prevented the insurrection, and eighteen of the most determined conspirators were thereupon executed. Bought on board ships in Carlisle Bay just like so many head of cattle, they were sent off to the estates, and at once put to work to build their own cabins, and, if they did not finish ~~the~~ before evening, they must needs lie on the ground for the night. For ten hours each day they worked in the open air, their hours being from 6 o'clock in the morning until 6 in the evening, with an interval between 11 and 1, for dinner. For clothing they wore shirt and drawers, and caps, and some planters allowed a rug gown for a change when the servants returned from their day's toil. and a hammock was allowed for a bed. Two meals a day, cooked by the negroes, were given to the Christians: the first being dinner, of lob-lolly, bonavists, or sweet potatoes, with two or three times a week a mess of pork, or salt-fish, of powdered beef, or of pickled turtle which was imported from the Leeward Islands. Lob-lolly was made by pounding the Indian corn in a mortar and then boiling it. It was eaten

when cool, and had a very satisfying tendency. Now-a-days it is called koo-koo. Bonavists are a species of kidney beans. For drink, there was mobbie, and sometimes there was lime water: the former was made from sweet potatoes.

From such of the Christian servants as survived the 5-years' ordeal, the Head overseer, or *Prime* overseer, as he was called, was chosen. The other overseers, of whom there would be about five on an estate of 500 acres, were servants still in bondage. This is what Master Ligon says of overseers of that time:—

“The Prime overseer may very well deserve fifty
“pounds per annum, or the value in such commodities
“as he likes, that are growing upon the plantation ;
“for he is a man that the master may allow sometimes
“to sit at his own table, and therefore must be
“clad accordingly. The other five of the overseers,
“are to be accounted in the ranke of servants, whose
“freedome is not yet purchased, by their five years’
“service, according to the custome of the Island. And
“for their cloathing, they shall be allowed three shirts
“together, to every man for shifts, which will very
“well last half a year, and then as many more. And
“the like proportion for drawers, and for shooes, every
“month a paire that is twelve paire a-year ; six paire
“of stockings yearly, and three Monmouth capps, and
“for Sundayes, a doublet of canvas, and a plain band
“of Holland.”

Brought from various parts of Western Africa between Gambia and Angola, the negroes on their arrival in Carlisle Bay were bought on board ship, stark naked, as they stood, or squatted on their haunches, shackled one to another. The price of a strong man was about £30, and the

price of a woman ranged from £25 to £27. As far as could be, the sexes were kept equal in numbers, as it was found that a man complained if he had not a wife, while useful men were allowed two or three wives each, but no woman was permitted to ally herself to more than one man. Slaves worked for the same hours required of Christian servants; each had his own little house of thatch and wattle, and divided it into small rooms. For clothing, a negro wore a pair of canvas drawers, and a negress a petticoat; for beds they had boards. Their main food was the plantain, of which a large bunch was allowed to each, or two small bunches, for a week's supply, with two macquerels for each man, and one for each woman. Sometimes they had Indian corn, which they roasted, instead of plantain. They cooked their own little pots. Now and again they were treated to a special feast, as when an ox died by mischance or by disease, when the negroes were allowed the head, the skin, and the entrails, which were distributed among them by an overseer, but the body was reserved for the Christian servants; but when a horse died, the whole of it was shared among the negroes, and they ~~eat~~ it with much contentment. They had a marked dislike to lob-lolly.

etc / If Christian servants or slaves fell ill, they were attended to by the estate's Apothecary, who was by courtesy called the Doctor, but the profession appears to have been contemned by Ligon, who styles them "ignorant Quacksalvers," mindful of the "drenches" which he had taken at their

hands. These Doctors, however, satisfied the labourers, whose ailments seem to have been relieved by the prescription of a dram or two of *Kill-devill*.

Sunday was a day of rest, but from Monday morning to the following Saturday afternoon, all hands on a plantation who worked in the field were at work, daily, from sun-rise to sun-set. At 6 o'clock each morning, the estate's bell rang for all hands to turn to, and at 11 the bell again rang them back when they had dinner, at 1 o'clock the bell rang them out again, and at 6 o'clock they were called in for supper, after which they went to bed. The negroes worked a-field in gangs of 10 or of 20 according to the ability of the overseers who supervised their work.

The planting of the cane by putting the cutting endwise into small holes dug at a distance of three feet from one another had, in 1649, been replaced by a new fashion of digging a 'trench', six inches deep and six inches broad, in a straight line, the whole length of the land planted, and then laying two canes lengthwise, and side by side along the bottom of the trench, which was then filled in with soil, this being done at intervals of two feet. About twelve acres at a time were planted, not more, as the Ingenios could not manufacture the sugar at the rate of 20 and 30 tons a-day as is now done in British Guiana. Planting, cropping, and manufacturing went on the whole year round. To planting, followed weeding and supplying, and at the end of fifteen

months the canes were cut, not with a cutlass, but with a bill. The canes being cut, the tips were carted away as fodder for the stock as the pasturage then was very poor, and the stalks were tied up in faggots and carried to the Ingenios, on the backs of assinigoes, which were laden in the Devonshire fashion of the time, having crooks set upon pack-saddles, a faggot being placed in each crook and a third a-top,

What we now call the buildings, or the sugar works, were at first known as the *Ingenio*. Here it was that from 1 o'clock on Monday morning until Saturday night, from year's end to year's end, men and animals working in relays, by spells of four hours each, performed the mysterious rites of Saccharina, and were in turn rewarded with muscovadoes, whites and molasses, and eke with *Kill-devil*. And firstly, of *Grinding*. Those who in our own time take as a matter of fact the vast buildings and the magnificent machinery which are inseparable from a plantation in British Guiana, little reck from what small beginnings the Sugar Industry has sprung, and how primitive were the means of motive power which preceded the use of steam; and they will recognize in the following description which Ligon gives of the operation of grinding the origin of the terms "going round" and "going about", which even now in some of the Island colonies at all events, are used for "getting up steam." Our author says—

"The manner of grinding them is this, the

"horses and cattle being put to their tackle
 "they go about, and by their force turne (by
 "the sweeps) the middle roller; which being
 "cog'd to the other two, at both ends, turns them
 "about; and they are three turning upon the
 "centres, which are of brass and steel, going
 "very easily of themselves, and so easie as a
 "man's taking hold of one of the sweeps with
 "his hand will turne all the rollers about with
 "much ease. But when the canes are put in
 "between the rollers, it is a good draught for
 "five oxen or horses; a *Negre* puts in the canes of
 "one side, and the rollers draw them through to
 "the other side, where another *Negre* stands,
 "and receives them; and returns them back on
 "the other side of the middle roller which draws
 "the other way. So that having passed twice
 "through, that is forth and back, it is conceived
 "all the juyce is prest out; yet the Spaniards
 "have a press, after both the former grindings,
 "to press out the remainder of the liquor, but
 "they having but small works in Spain, make
 "the most of it, whilst we having far greater
 "quantities are loath to be at that trouble."

The Beet root did not then trouble the Barbadian
 planter and teach him to economize his juice;
 but, did the Spaniards anticipate the Honorable
 William Russell's Maceration Process? At all
 events there must be many in Guiana who can
 recollect having seen in one of the smaller colonies
 a survival of the old-time system of grinding, as
 executed by a menagerie of a one-eyed horse, a
 mule, and a couple of donkeys, or an ox, or some

such miscellaneous collection of quadrupeds. But let not—

“Grandeur hear with a disdainful smile
The short and simple annals of the Poor.”

From the time of crushing the canes and boiling its juice to the making of *muscovadoes* a month elapsed, while *whites* took four months in the manufacture. The juice fell from the rollers into a receiver made like a tray, whence it ran through a pipe or trough into a cistern, where it was tempered by ashes damped by water, and thence through another pipe into the first of five coppers which were set above a furnace built of Dutch bricks called *klinkers*. From the first copper, the boiling liquor was passed into the second, third, fourth, and fifth, meanwhile undergoing in each a good deal of ladelling and skimming: the scum from the first and second coppers was held of no account, but the skimmings from the three last, which were strawed at bottom with lye to cause granulation, went to the Still-house for the making of *Kill-devill*. From the last copper the clarified liquor was run off into a cistern to ‘cool,’ or become milk-warm, when the operation of ‘potting’ began. The ‘pots’ were made of wood, were sixteen inches square above, about 30 inches long, and tapered downwards to a point in which was a hole big enough to admit a man’s finger; one would hold from 30 to 35 pounds of sugar. Before being filled the holes were bunged up with stopples made of plantain.

leaves. The pots were filled at the cooler, as the last cistern was called, and then were placed between stanchions in the Filling Room, and there remained for two days and two nights for the sugar to become cold; they were then removed to the *Curing House* and again set between stanchions, after the stopples had been withdrawn, when the 'molasses' ran off by a wooden trough into a large cistern. A whole month was required for this, even after the process of boring the sugar had been substituted for the practice of thrusting a spike of wood through the vent to the top of the pots. When the sugar had been thus cured, the pots were removed to the *Knocking Room* where they were knocked with force against the ground, causing the sugar to come out in a loaf, the top of which was somewhat brown, of a frothy, light, substance, the bottom of a much darker colour, but heavy, gross, moist, and full of molasses. Both top and bottom were cut away and boiled again with the molasses to make *Peneles*, a kind of sugar described as somewhat inferior to muscovado. It was the middle portion of the loaf, about two-thirds of the whole pot, that, bright in colour, and dry and sweet, was the veritable muscovado. The making of *whites*, which were the forerunners of the *Best Vacuum Pan* of to-day, was accomplished by paving tempered clay upon the top of muscovado as it lay in the pot in the curing house, and letting it remain for four months at the end of which time the clay was removed, the loaf knocked out, and the top and bottom portions

were removed as muscovado, the middle consisting of what was of a perfectly white colour, and the best sugar of this kind sold for as much as 20d the pound in London, a price equal to 6s. of the buying power of our money.

While the servants and slaves worked in the field and in the buildings from Monday to Saturday, Sunday was entirely a day of rest, unless they chose to work for themselves, as some did, gathering the bark of the mangrove tree, making it into rope, which they trucked away for shirts and drawers and the like. They certainly did not go to church, for at that time no slave was allowed to be a christian. Music and dancing were their great resource. They danced to the music of a whole orchestra of kettledrums, the time being given on a small one to which the larger came in as a chorus. In their African dances the movements of their hands and heads were more frequent than the motions of their feet. Dancing was alternated with wrestling in the manner of their country, a peculiar feature in which was the butting at one another with their heads, until they came to a hug, when one or other of the two got a fall. When the men took to wrestling, the women left off dancing to become spectators of the contests. In this way did these poor people enjoy themselves in their own manner, rather than in the sports beneath the greenwood tree which were 'lawful' to freeborn Englishmen in Old England, on Sunday, in the days of the Stuarts.

Of course, planters then, as now, were not

without cause for anxiety or of grumble. There was the weather, which might be too wet or too dry. Then, if they had not the borer, there was the laborer, in the shape of disaffected servants and slaves who might be plotting a rising, or injuring the Ingenio, or setting fire to the canefields, sometimes causing vast loss by the last-mentioned act. Then too, some of the slaves, who had cost much money, would run away and hide themselves in the caves in the Island, while others had an awkward way of hanging themselves when out of spirits, believing that when dead they went back to their native country. Colonel Walrond however, put a stop to the happy despatch system, after two or three of his best slaves had done away with themselves, by causing the head of one of the suicides to be cut off and set upon a pole 12 feet high, and by then making the living negroes view the head and march round the pole and satisfy themselves that, as the head was there, the body could not have gone without it; and, thus convinced, no more hanged themselves. But, when this trouble had been got over, there yet remained the rats and to get rid of them, a whole cane-piece would sometimes be burned down, the fire being set at the outsides of the field intended to be destroyed, by which means the enemy were driven into the middle of the cane-piece where the flames closed in upon them and destroyed them. These vermin also infested the houses, dwelling, and store, especially in wet weather, and they played general havoc. Sometimes,

work would have to be stopped in the boiling-house and in the field, because something had given out, or gone wrong, in the Ingenio; or for want of stock, for many animals, horses and horned cattle, died from diseases, cases being mentioned where one planter lost 30 cattle in two days, and another 50 in one night. No wonder that there are so many warrants of that period in the State Paper Office in London for the transport of "nags" to Barbados, while at a somewhat later date there is an application to the Council of State from one Merchant for licence to ship thither one hundred horses, upon payment of the usual duties, it being specifically stated therein that there was "great want of draught horses in Barbados" "whereby many of the sugar mills there stand "still." Notwithstanding all their troubles, however, the Planters of Barbados were prospering and hopeful. Colonel Drax, for instance, who had started there with a stock of £300 only, told Master Ligon that he hoped in a few years to be able to buy an estate in England of £10,000 a-year, while Colonel Thomas Modiford said he would not be satisfied to return to the Old Country until his investment in Barbados had realized £100,000.

Several of the planters came from Devonshire and Cornwall, but other counties were also represented by the settlers in Barbados. It may prove interesting to give some of the names of those who had then made their home in this far island in the Western Main. And, firstly, of those

whose families have ceased to be connected with Barbados, there were: Bouchier, Bromley, Byron, Carey, Carleton, Conyers, Coverley, Darell, Digby, Dimock, Estwick, Fitz James, Fortescue, Frere, Godwin, Hawley, Hay, Howard, Isham, Jermyn, Kendale, Lacy, Lee, Littleton, Middleton, Modiford, Needham, Ogle, Ouseley, Pickering, Pridaux, Pym, Quintine, Rich, Ross, Rowland, Russell, Shelly, Southwell, Tyrell, Usher, Walmsley, Wells, and Wodehouse. While these names are no longer found among the proprietary body in the island, many of them are yet borne either by plantations, or by the swarthy descendants of the old planters' slaves. The names in the following list include those of some families who, though they may no longer be connected with Little England, are, nevertheless, to be found in the other West Indian Colonies: most of these patronymics, however, will be recognized as belonging to those who may boast that they are "neither Creole nor Crab, but true Barbadian born," in testimony whereof they are subscribed:—Alleyne, Austin, Buckley, Burrowes, Byam, Chester, Clarke, Clinkett, Codrington, Cox, Dottin, Edwards, Ellis, Gill, Gibbes, Gittens, Jones, Kirton, Marshall, Martin, Mathew, Mills, Moss, Parris, Parsons, Pearce, Sandiford, Taylor, Thornhill, Redwood, Walrond, Waterman, and Webb. Nearly all the names mentioned in these two lists were at the time of the Civil War identified with property in Barbados: some names familiar nowadays as associated with that colony had not then been known in the island, while families like that of

riggs. /

laycock /

the Paynes were then settled in the Leeward Islands.

A right hospitable set were these planters, welcoming new-comers kindly, and doing what they could to make them at ease in their island home. The broken Cavalier soldiers especially, who managed to reach their shores, after escaping from the field of a lost fight, found hearty greeting there, for, had not many of the planters themselves fought as officers in the King's army and crossed over sea to save what was left to them.² But, while most of them were representatives of the Lost Cause, there were some, few in number, but important from wealth, who sympathised with the Parliament. Most of these had settled in the Island before the Great Rebellion broke out. All, however, had lived in peace for some years, avoiding "parties and sidings", although commissions came out from England from time to time, now from the King, now from the Parliament; and the rule was observed that if any one called another Cavalier or Roundhead, the offender should give a dinner to all those in whose presence the epithet had been flung. Thus Kendall from Cornwall, Walrond from Devonshire, Codrington from Gloucestershire and the Cavaliers generally, although they, no doubt, hoped the King would come to his own again, and among themselves drank to the Figure II, which stood for Charles the second, for some years lived on terms of good fellowship with Alleyne from Kent, Frere from Suffolk, and the knot of Roundheads, including of course Colo-

nel James Drax, the great planter of that time, who had done so much for the prosperity of the colony.

Notwithstanding that the colonists were fast growing rich, the planters as yet lived in no great luxury, as instance the fact that they had not glass windows in their dwellings, only shutters: moreover, although some of the great houses were like castles, the majority were low and ill-constructed. Housekeeping was a matter of difficulty then, for the island provided but a scant supply of meat and food-stuffs, and the putting up of provisions for transport from England to the Tropics had not become the Fine Art that it is now-a-days. Butter, for instance, sometimes arrived in such an exceedingly rancid state, that it made the very ship that brought it loathsome, and cheese, unless put up in oil, was much the same. For lights, the colonists had to make their own candles, which they did out of bees' wax brought from Western Africa, because the candles shipped from England would stick together in a lump in the barrel in which they were put up, and when they reached the island they stank so profoundly that neither rats nor mice would come near them, much less eat them. The meat supply of the colony was meagre. Oxen were required for draught purposes, cost too much to be used for beef, and only a man like Colonel Drax, who lived like a Prince, could afford to kill an ox now and then, but the beef so supplied was but poor stuff. Pork, which was served up in various ways, was their most tasty

meat, but of mutton there was little, and the best quality of that was produced by sheep brought from Africa, which in appearance resembled goats. Poultry was in fair supply. For bread they relied chiefly upon cassava, although they had biscuits from England, and flour came thence and from Holland with which they made the ordinary kind of bread. So much for the Home market. Many kinds of food, however, were imported, as will be observed in some of the dishes to which Colonel Drax and Colonel Walrond treated their friends at a high festival, of which later on. The principal drink of the colony of a spirituous drink was Kill-devill, that is RUM; but there was mobbie also, made from sweet-potatoes; piwarri from the cassava root; grippo; and drinks made from the plum, plantain, pine, and orange. Spirits and beer came from England, and wines from France, Spain, and Madeira. French brandy they also had, which was "extream strong, but accounted very wholesome". With fruits of the Tropics they were fairly well supplied, from the pine and orange to the cocoanut and custard apple. At all events, on the score of domestic servants, these early settlers seem to have had but little trouble, if Lord Willoughby's opinion of the black hands may be taken as the common experience. Writing to Lady Willoughby a year or two after this, Lord Willoughby says that he has allowed his house-keeper "Cataline, the Carpenter's wife", to return to England, and then proceeds "Honest Mary is all my stay now, and

"I hope will do as well as she can. I have entertained another coarse wench to be under her, allowing her help enough of negroes, which are the best servants in these countries, if well tutored, and cost little, only a canvass petticoat once a year, and there is no more trouble with them."

The means of recreation were but scant. There was neither hunting nor hawking, to which the planters had been addicted in Old England, and all that a planter like Colonel Drax seems to have been able to do for sport, was ~~in~~ making some of his negroes play at rapier and dagger, which they did very skilfully, while he got some enjoyment out of putting a Muscovy Duck into a pond, and then making some of his negroes who could swim best, capture the duck in the water, but forbidding them to dive, so as to allow of better sport. The fact is, the planters were thankful enough to be allowed to live in peace and prosperity, free from the Troubles at Home, and with a prospect of attaining to wealth;—no little matter, when it is remembered that many of their fellows were then in exile in various parts of Europe and living from hand to mouth, and that not long afterwards so great a nobleman as the heroic Marquis of Ormonde was compelled to lodge at a boarding-house in Paris, paying a pistole a week for his diet, and to walk the streets of Paris on foot, which in that proud city was considered "no honourable custom", while the King himself in his exile was sometimes, often times, in need of 20 pistoles, and "could

"not find credit to borrow it, which he often had "experience of". No doubt the Merry Monarch would at those times have gladly joined such feasts as Colonels Drax and Walrond sometimes gave their friends, and which it will be well to let that competent epicure, Richard Ligon, gentleman, himself describe:—

"First then (because beef being the greatest rarity in the island, especially such as this is) I will begin with it, and of that sort there are these dishes at either mess, a rump boyl'd, a chine roasted, a large piece of the breast roasted, the cheeks bak'd, of which is a dish to either mess, the tongue and part of the tripes mino'd for pyes, season'd with sweet herbs finely mino'd, suet, spice and currans; the legs, pallets and other ingredients for an *olio podrido* to either mess, a dish of marrow-bones, so here are 14 dishes at the table and all of beef; and this he intends as the great *regalio*, to which he invites his fellow Planters; who having well eaten of it, the dishes are taken away, and another course brought in, which is a potato pudding, a dish of Scots collops of a leg of pork, as good as any in the world, a fricacy of the same, a dish of boyl'd chickens, a shoulder of a young goat dress'd with his blood and time, a kid with a pudding in his belly, a sucking pig, which is there the fattest, whitest, and sweetest in the world, with the poynant-sauce of the brains, salt, sage, and nutmeg done with claret-wine, a shoulder of mutton which is there a rare dish, a pasty of the side of a young goat and a side of a fat young shot upon it, well sea-

son'd with pepper and salt, and with some nutmeg, a loyn of veal, to which there wants no sauce being so well furnish'd with oranges, lemons, lymes, three young turkies in a dish, two capons, of which sort I have seen some extream large and very fat, two hens with eggs in a dish, four ducklings, eight turtle doves, and three rabbits; and for cold bak'd meats, two *Muscovia* ducks larded, and season'd well with pepper and salt: and these being taken off the table, another course is set on, and that is of *Westphalia* or *Spanish* bacon, dryed neats tongues, botargo, pickled oysters, caviare, anchovies, olives, and (intermixt with these) custards, creams, some alone, some with preserves of plantines, bonano, guavers, put in, and those preserv'd alone by themselves, cheese-cakes, puffes, which are to be made with *English* flower, and bread; for the cassavie will not serve for this kind of cookery; sometimes tansies, sometimes froizes, or amulets, and for fruit, plantines, bonanoes, guavers, milions, prickled pear, anchove pear, prickled apple, custard apple, water milions, and pines worth all that went before. To this meat you seldom fail of this drink, mobbie, beveridge, brandy, kill-devil, drink of the plantine, claret-wine, white-wine, and rhenish-wine, sherry, canary, red sack, wine of Fiall, with all spirits that come from *England*, and with all this, you shall find as chearful a look, and as hearty a welcome, as a man can give to his best friends. And so much for a feast of an inland plantation.

- Now for a plantation near the sea, which shall

be Collonel *Walrond's*, he being the best seated for a feast, of any I know : I must say this, that though he be wanting in the first course, which is beef ; yet, it will be plentifully supplied in the last, which is fish ; and that the other wants. And though Collonel *Walrond*, have not that infinite store of the provisions Collonel *Drax* abounds in ; yet, he is not wanting in all the kinds he has, unless it be sheep, goats and beef, and so for all the sorts of meats, that are in my bill of fare, in Collonel *Drax* his feast, you shall find the same in Collonel *Walronds*, except these three, and these are supplied with all these sorts of fish I shall name, to wit, *mulletts*, *macquerels*, *parrat fish*, *snappers*, red and grey, *cavallos terbums*, *crabs*, *lobsters*, and *cony fish*, with diver sorts more, for which we have no names. And having these rare kinds of fishes, 'twere a vain superfluity, to make use of all those dishes I have named before, but only such as shall serve to fill up the table ; and when he has the ordering it, you must expect to have it excellent ; his fancy and contrivance of a feast, being as far beyond any mans there, as the place where he dwells is better situate, for such a purpose. And his land touching the sea, his house being not half a quarter of a mile from it, and not interposed by any unlevel ground, all rarities that are brought to the island, from any part of the world, are taken up, brought to him, and stowed in his cellars, in two hours time, and that in the night ; as, wine, of all kinds, oyl, olives, capers, sturgeon, neats tongues, anchovies, caviare, botargo, with

all sorts of salted meats, both flesh and fish for his family : as, beef, pork, *English* pease, ling, haberdine, cod, poor-John, and Jerkin beef, which is huffed, and slasht through, hung up and dried in the sun ; no salt at all put to it. And thus ordered in *Hispaniola*, as hot a place as *Barbadoes*, and yet it will keep longer than powdered beef, and is as dry as stock-fish, and just such meat for flesh, as that is for fish, and as little nourishment in it ; but it fills the belly, and serves the turn, where no other meat is. Though some of these may be brought to the inland plantations well conditioned ; yet, the wines cannot possibly come good ; for the wayes are such, as no carts can pass ; and to bring up a butt of sack, or a hogshead or any other wine, upon negroes backs, will very hardly be done in a night, so long a time it requires, to hand it up and down the gullies ; and if it be carried in the day-time, the sun will heat and taint it, so as it will lose much of his spirit and pure taste ; and if it be drawn out in bottles at the *Bridge*, the spirits fly away in the drawing, and you shall find a very great difference in the taste and quickness of it. Oyle will endure the carriage better than wine, but over-much heat will abate something of the purity, and excellent taste it has naturally. And for olives, 'tis well known, that jogging in the carriage causes them to bruise one another ; and some of them being bruised, will grow rotten, and infect the rest. So that wine, oyle, and olives, can not possibly be brought to such plantations, as are eight or ten miles from the *Bridge* ;

and from thence, the most part of these commodities are to be fetch'd. So that you may imagine, what advantage Collonel *Walrond* has, of any inland plantation, having these materials, which are the main regalias in a feast, and his own contrivance to boot, besides all I have formerly nam'd, concerning raw and preserv'd fruits, with all the other *quelquechoses*. And thus much I thought good to say for the honour of the island, which is no more than truth; because I have heard it sleighted by some, that seem'd to know much of it."

CHAPTER V.

Troubles in Old England.

On either side loud clamours ring,
"God and the Cause"! "God and the King"!
Right English all, they rushed to blows
With nought to win and all to lose."

The Puritans, who by Queen Elizabeth had been looked upon only as "a troublesome sort of people," were by James the First regarded as nothing less than pestilent fellows, dangerous to Church and State alike. If, however, the Scotch

Solomon entertained a dislike for Puritanism in general, his pet aversion was Presbyterianism, as witness his taking fire at the Hampton Court Conference on mention of the word 'Presbytery' when said he: "A Scotch Presbytery agreeth as well with Monarchy as God and the Devil. Then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick, shall meet and at their pleasures censure me and my council, and all our proceedings. Stay, I pray you, for one seven years, before you demand that from me * * * * for let that Government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath." The difference between the characters of the stout-hearted Queen and the timorous King does not account for the more pronounced hostility of the latter to the Puritans, but rather must the cause be found in the difference of conditions under which King James, from his birth to his death, found himself face to face with the power of those extreme Protestants. Almost to a man, Scotland had adopted Presbytery, and the General Assembly was nothing less than an *imperium in imperio* which had become a rival to the Monarchy in Scotland. In the England of Elizabeth, on the other hand, the Puritans were but a very feeble folk, until the latter part of that Sovereign's reign, chief among their sects being the Brownists; and, indeed, the ultra-Protestantism of these sects was rather a source of power than of weakness to Good Queen Bess who had a strong Roman Catholic party to contend with. If, in her reign, a Puritan were excessively zealous, and wrote a book criticising too

freely the Book of Common Prayer, the good man was hanged, and there was an end of him; but not so could King James deal with his subjects, who preached at him from their pulpits, railed at the memory of his dead mother, whom, living, they had sorely tried; and even, as in the case of Andrew Melville, went the length of holding him by the sleeve and rating him roundly for being an unfaithful servant of the Lord.

The spirit in which King James took up the Crown of England was that of a martyr entering upon his rest. In England, at all events, he hoped to find that the Presbyterians would cease from troubling; but he was disappointed, for in the later years of Elizabeth a generation had arisen who, born within the Church of England, and bred up as Protestants, were much more inclined to Puritanism than had been many of those half-hearted churchmen who had joined the Church of England to save their heads, or their lands, or because it was the vogue to conform. At first, the King might have thought, and with cause, that his hopes were to be realized, for Archbishops Whitgift and Bancroft, who ruled the Anglican Church in the earliest years of his reign, were High Churchmen who opposed the growth of Puritanism; but the Gunpowder Plot caused a powerful revulsion of feeling in favour of the latter; the translation of the Bible into the English tongue had its influence; while Archbishop Abbott who, succeeded Bancroft, was no persecutor, but even a suspected favourer of the Puritans. James had, however, the poor consolation of

Scottish

believing that he had successfully reestablished Episcopacy in Scotland.

Steeped in the faith of his own Divine Right of Kingship, this most Dread Sovereign encountered in England a vigorous growth of political liberty and of Parliamentary power, and these he even fostered, by his own perverse way of dealing with the representations of his subjects, that is, by not summoning Parliaments, and by resorting to questionable expedients for getting money without them, as he also did by appointing as his Ministers mere favourites instead of experienced statesmen. And all this in spite of his recognizing the fact that Parliament had become a power. "Chairs! chairs! Here be twal Kings comin,"! he called out as he saw the twelve Members approaching him at Newmarket with the Declaration against monopolies. His own fractious horse he had threatened to send to the five hundred Kings at Westminster, as they would be sure to tame the animal. But, though he thought wisely, he acted foolishly, as is testified by the way in which he dealt with the Declaration of Liberties and Privileges of the Commons, it being recorded in the First Volume of the Commons Journals how His Majesty treated that expression of his subjects' views and wishes, and this was the petty manner, "King James, in Council, with his own hand, sent out this protestation." The King had at all events one loyal favourite in the Earl of Carlisle who advised his Sovereign to redress the grievances of his subjects and to keep on good terms with them, and thus make himself the enemy of

enry

all other Princes. But, the Stuarts were not men to take good advice, or at all event to follow it, or the Stuart family had given kings to England to this day, and James died in 1635, having sown the wind for Charles to reap the whirlwind, bequeathing to his successor discontented subjects and the Favourite Buckingham for a minister ; a war with Spain, and an empty Exchequer. 1625

Charles Stuart was afflicted with a "distate" for Parliaments, but as war with Spain and the ordinary expenses of Government and of the Royal household required the command of money, Parliaments must need be summoned. As, however, the King's applications for money were met by demands from the Commons for the Redress of Grievances, which redress the ill-fated King would not give, no less than three Parliaments were in the first four years of his reign summoned and dissolved, without any further result than the giving of the royal assent to the Petition of Right, which was a Declaration against the exaction of money under the name of Loans ; against imprisonment of those refusing to pay, and the suspension of *habeas corpus* ; against the billeting of soldiers on private persons, and against Martial Law. Charles cared for none of those things, and in the following year a Remonstrance presented by the Commons was burnt by Royal order. Dissolving the third Parliament in 1629, and imprisoning some of the leaders of the popular party, of whom the most notable was the patriotic Sir John Eliot, who died in the Tower, a martyr in the cause of Parliamentary Government,

Charles now decided to govern without Parliament and kept his purpose, for none was called until 1640.

Of the miserable shifts to which the King was put to raise money by unconstitutional means; of the oppressions that arose in consequence; of the perversion of justice by Judges, who were corrupted by Court influence; and of the resistance by lawful means which was offered by John Hampden and other patriots to the growing despotism, this is not the place to tell; but, the English Nation was long-suffering, and, no doubt, the preaching up of Divine Right, of Prerogative, and of Passive Obedience, by Archbishop Laud and the Laudian Bishops and Clergy, was not without its effect. When the storm did break, it swept all before it.

It was from the Scottish Nation that open resistance first came when an attempt was made to force upon that people the Episcopal form of Church Government, with Liturgy and Canons. The Scotch took to arms and the Covenant, and when asked to renounce the latter, being a practical people, they not only declined to do so but suggested that the King should "tak it himsel." The English, recognizing that the Scotch were fighting for the English cause as well as for their own, gave Charles but feeble support in resisting the invasion of their friends from across the border. The Scotch crossed the Tweed, the first man to do so being James Grahame, then Earl of Montrose, who afterwards became so famous a Royalist. As the English would not fight the

Scotch, and the Scotch required that their travelling expenses should be paid before they returned homewards, Charles was obliged to have recourse to a Parliament. The first Parliament summoned in 1640, before the Scottish invasion, would not give any money until grievances were redressed, and it was therefore speedily dissolved, but this Short Parliament was followed later in the same year by the Long Parliament. But the Commons had now assembled not so much to give subsidies to the King as to sit in judgment upon him and his Ministers.

It was on the 3rd of November, 1640, that this Parliament met, which, under the guidance of masterful minds, did so much for the liberties of Englishmen. How they got the King to agree that they should not be dissolved without their own consent; how they impeached his Ministers, and by degrees got themselves possessed of not only Civil Power, but the control of the Militia; these matters are recorded in history, where Laud and Strafford, although in many ways excellent and estimable men, are damned to fill the place of warnings, not of examples. Those who run riot in power, whether lawful or lawless, should remember the fate of Strafford, who, in one day, fell from extreme power into a prison, and not long after lost his head for his efforts to establish absolutism. It must have been a sight to see when, on the 11th of November, 1640, Pym appeared in the House of Lords and in the name of the Commons of England, accused Thomas, Earl of Strafford, of High Treason:

Strafford's coming into the House to find Mr. Pym performing this duty, when Strafford had himself come thither to impeach Pym and other Members of holding treasonable correspondence with the Scotch: the Lords ordering Strafford to withdraw: his summons back to the House, and the order for him to kneel and deliver up his sword: his committal to the Tower and leaving the House, "no man capping to him, before "whom that morning the greatest of England "would have stood discovered."

And now, Strafford's life being taken and Laud being a prisoner, and other Ministers of the Royal Will having fled the Country, the Commons urged the redress of Grievances in a **GRAND REMONSTRANCE** which was adopted on the 22nd of November, 1641. In this famous impeachment of bad government they complained of the dissolutions of Parliament and the imprisonment of Members; of the illegal raising of moneys, and especially of Ship Money; of the degradation of England in Foreign affairs; of Monopolies; of the enlargement of Royal Forests at the expense of subjects; of abuses in the Star Chamber; of the selling of Titles of Honour, and of Judicial, and other, offices; of abuses in Church Government; and of abuses in the Earl Marshal's Court, in the High Commission Court, in the Exchequer, in Chancery, in the Court of Wards; and of the tendency to set the Prerogative of the King above the Law. Time fails to tell of the particulars of the several heads of grievance, but the student of history will observe that most of

the abuses dealt with, had their origin in devices for getting money to supply the King's need.

Charles's promises, although made 'upon the word of a King,' were made to be broken, whenever he could do so conveniently, for he looked upon concessions wrested from him by the Commons as a misappropriation of his own Divine Rights. Instead of overcoming his "distate" for Parliaments, he now determined to turn upon the leaders of the Commons, and accordingly, on the 3rd of January, 1642, Sir Edward Herbert, his Attorney General, appeared in the House of Lords and exhibited articles of Treason against Lord Kimbolton (afterwards Earl of Manchester, ancestor of the President of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute), and against those five celebrated Commoners, John Hampden, John Pym, Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Denzil Holles, and William Strode, and demanded that these tribunes of the people should be delivered up. The demand was not complied with. On the following day the King stung by the reproach of cowardice flung at him by his wife, the too high-spirited daughter of *Henri Quatre*, who urged him to drag the Members out of the House itself, himself went down to Westminster from Whitehall, and leaving his guard outside, entered the House and demanded the surrender of the Members. The Queen had too hastily confided to Lady Carlisle the King's intentions, and Lady Carlisle having sent word to Pym accordingly, thus were the proscribed Commoners given time to go into the City whither

they fled for refuge. The King uncovered his head as he entered the House, and approaching Speaker Lenthall said "By your leave, Master Speaker, I must borrow your Chair a little"! Charles then looked towards the place where Pym usually sat, and asked "Is Master Pym here"? Dead silence in the House at first. He asked for each of the five, but got for answer only the following from Lenthall, "May it please your Majesty, I have neither eye to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am here"! The King observed that he perceived "the birds were flown". Then, saying that he expected the five members to be sent to him, he left the house amidst cries of "Privilege! Privilege"! On the 5th, Charles went into the City, and unsuccessfully demanded the delivery to him of the five members. When leaving the City on his return to Whitehall, a pamphlet was thrown into his carriage which bore the ominous title "TO YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL"! Finding that the crisis was now come, the doomed Monarch left London on the 10th for Hampton Court whence, on the 12th, he proceeded to Windsor. From this time, both sides prepared to fight out their differences. On the 22nd of August, 1642, the Royal Standard was raised at Nottingham.

Shortly before the battle of Edgehill, Sir Edmund Varney, the King's Knight Marshal, said to Mr. Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, "You have satisfaction in your conscience that you are in the right; that the king ought not to

one of whose sons was among the early settlers in Barbadoes

“grant what is required of him ; and so you do
“your duty and your business together. But, for
“my part, I do not like the quarrel, and do
“heartily wish that the king would yield and
“consent to what they desire ; so that my con-
“science is only concerned in honour and in
“gratitude to follow my master. I have eaten
“his bread and served him near thirty years, and
“will not do so base a thing as to forsake him,
“and choose rather to lose my life, (which I am
“sure I shall do,) than to preserve and defend
“those things which are against my conscience to
“preserve and defend. For I will deal freely
“with you, I have no reverence for the Bishops for
“whom this quarrel subsists.” The views of this
brave man who, true to his word, fell bravely
fighting, at the battle of Edgehill, represented the
opinions of one section of the Royalist party. Sir
Beville Grenville writing to Sir John Trelawney
expressed the views of another set of men, those
who were blindly loyal. “I cannot,” said he,
“contain myself within my doors when the King
“of England’s standard waves in the field upon
“so just occasion ; the cause being such as must
“make all those who die in it little inferior to
“martyrs. And, for mine own, I desire to ac-
“quire an honest name or an honourable grave.”

The sentiment of the people was put into General
Skippon’s address to the Train-Bands, thus:—

“Come on my boys, my brave boys ! Let us
“pray heartily and fight heartily. I will run
“the same hazards with you. Remember the
“cause is for God and the defence of yourselves,

"your wives and children. Come, my honest brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, "and God will bless us"! Cromwell's, "Trust in God, and keep your powder dry!" was equalled by the Royalist Sir Jacob Astley's address to the Almighty, before an impending battle, "O Lord, Thou knowest that I shall be very busy fighting to-day; if I forget Thee, forget not thou me"!; and, while the Roundheads have been described as men who "sung a psalm and drubbed all before them", it is evident that the Royalists also often times appealed to the God of Battles, as witness the statement in a letter from Sir Beville Grenville to his wife:—"After solemn prayer at the head of every division we marched: I led the charge!" The Puritan gentleman who snuffed psalms, as "out he rode a colonelling," had no doubt much faith in the blood and iron policy for carrying conviction to the minds of the sons of Belial, but so had the Cavalier who followed the Royal Standard, and who hoped thus to overcome the Roundhead dogs who fought against him. The former could claim no monopoly of the description of the church militant given by Butler, for it is equally applicable to the latter, and runs thus:—

"Of errant Saints whom all men grant
 "To be the true Church Militant;
 "Such as do build their faith upon
 "The holy text of pike and gun;
 "Decide all controversies by
 "Infallible artillery:
 "And prove their doctrine orthodox
 "By apostolic blows and knocks."

To fighting they fell, and at Edgehill ; Chalgrove Field, fatal to Hampden ; Newbury, where Falkland fell ; Hopton Heath, where the Earl of Northampton, with three sons as his companions in arms, refused to save his life by asking for quarter, disdainfully exclaiming ere he fell "I scorn your quarter, base rogues and "rebels as ye are:" at Lansdowne, Gloucester, Oxford, Bristol, and many another scene of fight ; at Marston Moor and Naseby,—men died and bled for the King and for *The Cause* ; brother arrayed against brother and son against father. How cruel a thing is Civil War it is not necessary to say : one instance of its bitterness will suffice. The Earl of Denbigh was a Cavalier ; his eldest son, Lord Fielding, was a Roundhead. The Earl was killed at the taking of Birmingham in 1643, and it was at this time that his widow thus wrote to their son :—

"I beg of you, my first born son, whom I do so
"dearly love, to give me that satisfaction which you
"now owe me, to leave those that murdered your dear
"father, for what else can it be called when he received
"his death wound for saying that he was ' For the
" ' King ? ' They showed no mercy to his grey hairs,
"but swords and shots, a horror for me to think of.
"O my dear Jesus ! put it into my son's heart to leave
"that merciless company that was the death of his
"father ; for now I think of his party with horror,
"before with sorrow. This is the time that God and
"nature claim it from you. Before, you were carried
"away by error, now it seems monstrous and hideous.
"The last words your dear father spoke was to desire
"God to forgive you and to touch your heart. Let
"your dear father and unfortunate mother make your

"heart relent, let my sorrow receive some comfort.
" * * * I give you many thanks for the care you
"took in paying the last rites to your father. I have a
"longing desire to see you, and if I had any means I
"would venture for to do it. So with my blessing, I
"take my leave.

"Your loving Mother."

The son, notwithstanding these entreaties, remained true to the Parliament. Not the men only, but the women also, played an active part in the tragedy; and, while Lathom House was nobly held by the Countess of Derby, and War-dour Castle by Lady Arundel, did not women, gentle and simple both, bestir themselves when the King's Army reached Brentford and threatened London itself:—

"Raised rampiers with their own soft hands,
"To put the enemy to stands;
"From ladies down to oyster wenches,
"Laboured like pioneers in trenches,
"Fell to their pick-axes and tools,
"And helped the men to dig like moles?"

Mere mention here is all there's need to say how, when the cause of the people had triumphed, and the Royalists were laid low, the King, hoping against hope, negotiated now with the Parliament, now with the Independents, now with the Scots, but all in vain, and then betook himself to the Scottish army, still believing in the Divide and Govern principle: how the Scots, being unable to take him to Edinburgh, as he would not come to terms with them, and the Scottish Nation would not receive him on his own terms, the King was handed over to the Parliament, which

it should clearly be understood at that time represented the Presbyterian party, and was not the Independent Parliament that afterwards caused the king to be put to death: how, being taken to Holmby House, he was thence taken by Cornet Joyce who pointed to his troopers as sufficient warrant for his act, and carried to Childersley and afterwards to Hampton Court, thus, passing into the power of the Army: how, still he intrigued, and then escaped to the Isle of Wight, where he was captured, and imprisoned in Carisbrooke Castle, only to intrigue further, offering "accommodation" to the Parliament while plotting with the Scots for his restoration by force of arms: how the Royalists rose in 1648 in Kent, Essex, Hertford, and Wales, and the Fleet in the Downs sent their captains on shore, hoisted the King's pennon, and blockaded the Thames, and a Scottish Army, under the Duke of Hamilton came into England to fight for the King: how the Independent Army sternly resolved that if ever the Lord brought them back in peace they would "call Charles Stuart, that man of blood; to account for the blood he had shed and mischief he had done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in this poor nation:" how the Independent Army crushed out the risings and scattered the Scottish forces, and how Colchester surrendered and Lisle and Lucas then met a tragic fate: how, when too late, the King made satisfactory concessions to the Parliament: how Colonel Pride "purged" the Parliament, and the Rump

was left to work the Army's will against the King : and how on the 6th of January, 1649 the Rump, after the Peers had refused their concurrence, passed an ordinance creating a High Court of Justice to try "Charles Stuart, King of England" for treason in having made war against his Parliament : how the King was tried, after refusing to acknowledge the jurisdiction of Bradshaw and his other judges and had judgment of death passed against him. That the King would have been assassinated the Royalists fully believed, for there had been precedents in the cases of Edward the Second and Richard the Second for putting away unfortunate Monarchs ; but, that he should be solemnly brought to trial, condemned and executed, all in the light of day, was what astounded not only the English Nation but all Europe. Those who pass down Parliament street nowadays may, by casting a glance at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, which is nothing else than the old Banquet Hall of the Stuarts, observe the very place where on the 30th of January 1649 Charles " bowed his comely head," for the scaffold was erected just outside of what was in 1649 the middle window in the lower row, and that window has been long blocked up, as in the present use of the building it would have been at the back of the Royal pew. Thus perished Charles Stuart, King of England, a most estimable man in domestic life, but whose own hand has described his failure as the King of a free people. In the last letter he wrote to his eldest son and successor he thus passes judgment upon himself :

—"And in this, give belief to our experience, "never to affect more greatness or prerogative "than that which is really and intrinsically for "the good of subjects, not the satisfaction of "Favourites."

The Troubles in Old England had a marked effect upon the Colonies, causing an exodus of Puritans from the Mother Country to New England chiefly, and afterwards of Cavaliers to the West Indies and Virginia. The THOROUGH policy of Laud could not, however let the former people go in peace, so on the 21st of July, 1635, a Proclamation—at that time Charles's Proclamations took the place of Laws—was issued against departing out of the realm without licence, from which it appears that "Ministers "unconformable to the discipline and ceremonies "of the Church" were in the habit of retiring to the Bermudas to be safe from "the Prelates' "rage," as Andrew Marvel sings: but, none were in future to go thither except by licence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, while those already there were to be brought back by a ship, which the Earl of Northumberland, as Lord High Admiral, was ordered to fit out. As, notwithstanding that Proclamation, the Puritans continued to emigrate to the Colonies, and not merely fellows of the baser sort, but also men of property, "subsidy men" as they were described, another Proclamation was issued on the 30th April, 1637, imposing restrictions on emigration to America, wherein the "rude forefathers" of the Great Republic are described as "men of idle

"and refractory humours, whose only or principal end is to live without the reach of authority," who daily withdrew themselves with their families to the Plantations, where many disorders had been caused by them. In this second Proclamation it was ordained that no "subsidy men" should quit the country without the licence of the Privy Council, nor poorer men without licence of the Justices: to be entitled to such licences, all were to produce certificates of having taken the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the testimony of their parish minister as to conformity in ecclesiastical matters. On the 1st of May, 1638, a fresh Proclamation was issued forbidding persons to remove to New England without licence.

But, those who left their Fatherland for conscience sake and passed over sea to make homes for themselves in the Wilds of North America, were not to escape the watchful eyes of Archbishop Laud. That zealous Prelate was one of a commission appointed on the 28th of April 1634, for making laws and orders for the Government of English Colonies planted in foreign parts, having among other powers those of imposing penalties and imprisonment for offences in Ecclesiastical matters. Apparently, however, the powers of that Commission were insufficient to secure uniformity among these wandering Colonial sheep, as on the 10th of April, 1636, a fresh Commission was issued to the Archbishop and others, among other things empowering them to constitute Ecclesiastical Courts in the Colonies as well as Civil

Courts. No Colony seems to have escaped this zealous high-priest's supervision. At one time the state of the Church in Barbados is brought before him by parson Lane; at another his Grace draws the attention of the Company of the Somers' Islands to the fact that non-conformists abound in the Bermudas; while again, he has submitted to him questions of Justification and Sanctification "which have divided Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton in New England." How refreshed the good man must have been by the correspondence of so good a churchman as Sir David Kirke, who was the proprietor of Newfoundland, and whence he wrote to the Archbishop on the 2nd of October 1639, that the air of Newfoundland agreed perfectly well with all God's creatures except Jesuits and schismatics. "A great mortality amongst the former tribe so affrighted my Lord of Baltimore that he utterly deserted the country." Many "frenzies," he said, were heard from New England; and, with pious resignation, he observed, that the chiefest safety of the colonists lay in "a strict observance of the rites and service of the Church of England." In 1640 the Puritan Emigration to New England ceased, and soon afterwards many of the exiles returned to fan the flame of resistance which had begun to burn and which soon devoured Church and State alike, clearing the way for the Commonwealth of "The people of England, of all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging," which was established on the 19th of May 1649, the Executive power of which was

vested in a Council of State of forty-one members of what was left of the House of Commons.

CHAPTER VI.

Troubles in Little England.

Cælum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.

When the year 1650 opened, it found the colonists of Barbados in a state of division. The Treaty of Turkey and Roast Pig was now wholly disregarded, and the Cavaliers finding themselves in a vast majority, not only railed at the Roundheads as Independent Dogs, and railed at the Parliament and at "The Army," but they determined to put aside the neutrality of the Colony, and to declare openly for the Prince of Wales as **CHARLES THE SECOND.**

Although Captain Philip Bell held his Commission as Governor, from the Lord Proprietor of the Island, it must by that time have become known to the colonists that Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, had been constituted by the same Lord Proprietor to be his Lieutenant-General of the Carribbee Islands for twenty-one years from Michaelmas 1646; that the late King and his son, the present King in exile, had both approved of the arrangement; and, that Lord Willoughby intended to come out to Barbados and himself

assume the Government. It was also then known that Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice with a small Fleet were roving the seas, and the Cavaliers of Barbados hoped that these warlike brothers would come to their assistance. Having these assurances, and having got their partisans appointed to the Chief Civil offices in the colony—especially Major Byam, put in as Treasurer instead of Colonel Guy Molesworth—and the Governor himself being in sympathy with them, the Royalists caused the Militia to be raised, and men of their own party to be placed in command, on the pretext that the island should be placed in a state of defence to meet an attack which the Spaniards were said to contemplate making upon it. Then the Council and Assembly appointed a Committee of Public Safety to decide upon the course of action best to be adopted. These Commissioners were sworn to secrecy, and so were the Members of Council and Burgesses to whom they reported, but the plan proposed in their report was not long in leaking out, and was nothing else than the banishment of the Round-heads from the island: a course, however, which was not approved by the general body, as no just cause for such a proceeding could be shown. Upon the miscarriage of the extreme measures which had been proposed, a member of the General Assembly, probably Edward Walrond, a younger brother of Colonel Humphrey Walrond, introduced and got passed by the Legislature, *An Act for the uniting of the Inhabitants of the Island, under the Government thereof, in which,*

after declaring that elsewhere (evidently meaning England) people had been "totally ruined" in their lives and fortunes, being given up as a "prey to the rude souldiery", which was commonly done "under pretence of tendernesse of conscience and differing in Religion from what is most publicly professed in this Government", the abolition of coercive Ecclesiastical Laws was enacted, and all obedience was required to the Government of the island, while for maliciously depraving, vilifying, or opposing the said Government, it was provided that the offender should be adjudged "an enemy to this island, and the peace thereof", and be dealt with "according to his offence". In providing for the abolition of "Coercive Ecclesiastical Laws", the framer of the Act was too good a Churchman to overlook the opportunity of doing something to improve those who made "pretence of tendernesse of conscience", and thus it was further enacted that:

All and every person or persons who shall goe or come to any conventicle, or shall labour or seduce any person or persons from repairing to the Public Congregation, or in receiving of the Holy Sacrament, shall by any Justice of Peace (upon complaint thereof, to him made) be committed to prison, there to remaine without bayle or mainepriize till the next general sessions of the Assembly.

Breaches of this Law were to be severely punished; for the first offence, by imprisonment for three months, with fine and ransom "at the pleasure of the Assembly," and for the second

offence, with forfeiture of all Lands, Goods, Chattels, and Debts, the offender being then held to be an enemy to the peace of the Island, and to be proceeded against "accordingly." To crown this piece of Royalist legislation but quite after the manner of the *Engagement* instituted by the Parliament in England, it was enacted "for the supportation of the Government" that an oath, in a form provided, should be tendered to the Colonists, in which each person should "voluntarily and freely, without feare or compulsion," acknowledge the divine institution of Civil Government generally, and the lawfulness and justness of that of Barbados, and saving his "allegiance to our Sovereign Lord the King," pledge himself not to oppose the latter, but to his utmost to support it with life and fortune. The Act having been passed by the Legislature, and confirmed by the Governor, on the 15th of April 1650, was ordered to be published in the several Parishes in the Island, a duty which in those days appertained to the clergy, there being then no newspapers published in the island, and apparently not even a printing press imported.

Before, however, the new Law was actually published, the Roundhead party in the Island had taken alarm and were bestirring themselves to checkmate their Cavalier fellow-colonists, by some of whom they had been apprised of the plot that was a-foot. Whether or not that Royalist Planter, Colonel Christopher Codrington, had been indulging in the French brandy which Ligon describes as being "accounted wholesome, but

"extream strong," it is nevertheless stated that he was the worse for liquor when he diselosed the intention of his friends to banish the Roundheads. For his offence, he was condemned to pay a fine of twenty thousand pounds of sugar, and to depart the Island. But, there were still persons of either party who remained upon friendly enough terms for an interchange of news, and thus one of the leading Cavaliers at the present juncture showed a copy of the Act and Oath to some of the Roundheads, who, disliking it, as it tended to perpetrate the power of the Royalists, consulted with others of their own way of thinking, with the result that a deputation from the Roundheads waited upon the Governor and urged upon him that the Law should not be published. The Governor told the deputation that he had allowed the Act to pass, for the sake of Peace, as he had to deal with violent spirits, but that he saw objections to it, and if they would leave matters in his hand he would do the best he could. The petitioners had not long been gone when Colonel Humphrey Walrond called upon the Governor. After some conversation, the Governor told Colonel Walrond that he had that day received a letter from a Magistrate reporting that there were several errors in the written copies of the Act and Oath and that the clerks who had made the copies had written nonsense. Walrond agreed with the Governor that it was necessary the copies should be called in to be corrected. The Governor upon this wrote to the Clergy of the various parishes directing them not to publish the

Law, and thus was its operation deferred. Several copies of the Law having subsequently been procured by the Roundheads, who considered their liberties in danger, the leaders of the party now considered how the publication might be wholly prevented.

Few though they were in number, the Parliamentarians in the Island were an influential body, counting as they did among their number men like Colonel James Drake, the founder of the Sugar Industry, Captain Reynold Alleyne, Captain Thomas Middleton, Colonel John Fitz James, Major William Fortescue, and others like Constant Silvester, John Clinckett, Thomas Matthews, John Bayes, and Richard Hawkins, some of whom had by their great industry chiefly promoted the prosperity of the colony, being among the earlier settlers, and having, indeed, given hospitable welcome at their tables to the very chief of the Cavaliers when these had come over to make a home in Barbados. Such men, backed as they were by the sympathy of the party that then ruled in England, were not likely tamely to submit to oppression. Accordingly, it was, after consultation, decided upon to Petition the Governor for a new Assembly, and this was done on the 23rd of April 1650, by some of the inhabitants in each parish. The Petitioners set out with the assertion that it was the "Liberty and Privilege of free-borne Englishmen, that are inhabitants and free-holders in this Island, to chuse the Gentlemen of the Assembly here once every year, none having sat so long as the

"Assembly that now is." They then stated that to their great grief they perceived that by the passing of the *Act for the Uniting of the inhabitants* the Assembly intended to set themselves above "legall or intended power," to the enslaving of the free inhabitants of the Island, in the compassing of which "some of good integrity had been over-borne"; and, as by the continuance of the present Assembly such an ill consequence was like to ensue, they concluded by praying the Governor forthwith to issue forth warrants "for the speedy chusing of a new Assembly," and that a time be appointed yearly for the like election, it being the "Rights and Liberties," of them. The Petitioners declared that if the Governor would act as they desired, he would engage them to be ready to serve him with their lives and fortunes against all opposers; and they took the opportunity of presenting the Petition to Governor Bell when he was sitting with his Council, in deliberation upon the best thing to be done in the business of the *Act and Oath*. The Governor declared his readiness to grant the prayer of the Petition.

As the dissolution of the Assembly might prove a fatal blow to their projects, the Royalists after giving up their first idea of procuring cross Petitions wherein "the country," should approve of their proceedings, and desire their continuance, decided to stir up the people against the Petitioners by stigmatizing them as *Independents*, who designed to cut off all who were Loyal to the King and to alter the Government of Church and

State by bringing in the power of the Parliament of England, for establishing which they had commissions from the Council of State. It was high time, they said, to look about them, as otherwise they would all be dead men, for they could not expect fairer terms from those in Barbados than the late King and others received from their brethren in England. The further to inflame the minds of the Colonists against the Roundheads, the leaders of the Royalist party wrote "several libells, and scandalous papers, throwing some "up and downe, and putting others upon Poste." It is interesting to observe in the manifestoes that were at that period distributed by hand or posted up throughout the Island, the originals of the political war drum which nowadays is so valourously beaten by the Barbadian Press when battling for the ancient liberties of "free-born Englishmen". Here is a specimen of plain speaking, not, however, very complimentary in its terms :

Friends, take my advice, There is in hand a most damnable designe, the Authors are Independents, their ayme is wholly to Casheere the Gentry and Loyall, and to change for our Peace Warre and for our Unity Division, Colonel Drax, that devout Zealot (of the deeds of the Devill, and the cause of that seven headed Dragon at Westminster) is the Agent : Now that the Workman may have his hire, I could wish that there were more Covenanters besides myself, for (truly I cannot conceale it) I have vowed to impeach him and to prosecute him, but not in point of Law, for then I know he would

subdue me (but at the Point of Sword) : Let me desire such as tender Religion, the Loyall, the safety of the Island, and being of our present Government, they be fore-armed against the pretence of Liberty, for thereby is meant Slavery and Tyranny. But I halfe repent this motion of the Pen, purposing with all expedition to Action. My ayme is at Drax, Middleton, and the rest. Vivat Rex.

These "libells and scandalous papers," were addressed variously *To the Islanders, To the Gentlemen Cavaliers by the Planters*, and the like; and were of a very ferocious nature, the authors being apparently not scrupulous in the use of terms, and having a particular dislike to Colonel James Drax who is now styled "a faithfull agent of "Rebellion," then "the Type of that seven-headed Dragon of Westminster," while one fire-eating Royalist declares that "I shall thinke my best rest but disquiet until I have sheathed my sword in his Bowells that first began it, unless "regular power make an appearance against it," adding that, he thinks about one hundred friends of his own are of the same mind. The following are two more of these inflammatory addresses to the Colonists, the latter of them dealing with certain "scandalous papers," which emanated from the Roundhead party:—

OF GENTLEMEN PLANTERS,

"I have a good opinion of your Loyalty, I doubt not but you know the pretence for ruine, that of liberty, and dissolusion of our Government, whereby our peace only stands: some of you I believe are ignorant of

the deceit that is in the cunning of self will-workers; if you inquire after England's Troubles, her sadnesses, her sorrowes, her divisions, her Warres, her Rapihes, her Murders, you will find that it came from pretence of Liberty; such now is that of Drake, (who as by letters appears) is factor for the Rebels in England, and here is to vent his trade of disloyalty, Rebellion, and Ruine, and to cleare this, if you looke upon the late Petition, there is the height of his charge of Rognery, not only with a party to overthrow our Assembly, but impeaching the judgements of all the Islanders. Sirs, pray take notice, and dreame not, if the Devill can perform for you any good, then expect it from those Imps of the Devill, and not otherwise: for my owne part if no punishment extend to these Traitors, I must to exercise at Armes, to which I desire there may be a readinesse in you all.

Vivat Rex. Till the next farewell.

GENTLEMEN,

Having found a Libell dispersed to the scandall of the Authority now in being, and undervaluing of the Judicious of the whole island, as to their chiefe of the Assembly, and their concurrence with them in outcries and exceptions against particular men, of known wealth and Loyalty, we could not but proceed to this Declaration.

1. That conformity is the best step and advance to security, that those worthy gentlemen that are scandalized, having endeavoured thereto, we looke upon as the best helpers to this Common-wealth.

2. That whereas imprecations are vented against Lawyers, (to the remorse of those worthies the Waldronds be it spoken) from them is our Generall happiness derived.

3. That whereas they are clamorous against the intended Oath with seditious Petitions spred as from the Generall, we declare the extent of the Oath to all peaceable being; nothing therein binding further than to submission, so the power proceeds from our

Election, and vote of all men, and Loyalty to our King: That we disclaime the proceedings of Drax, Middleton, Alleyne, and the rest, as most seditious disturbing of our Union and present being in peace, and the most horrid foundation of further intended mischief; as derived and taken from the practice of those imps of the Devill, the devouring Rebels at Westminster.

4. That we looke upon countenancers of the late Petitions, as the most dangerous of Enemies, and in the resolution, and of present appearance, unless better satisfaction, we are resolved to live and dye, to the comfort of the Loyall.

Vivat Rex.

The chief promoter of the Royal cause in Barbados was Colonel Humphrey Walrond, a gentleman of an old Devonshire family, who with several brothers and sons had taken an active part in the West Country, on the Royalist side. When Bridgewater surrendered to the Parliament's soldiers, Colonel Walrond was one of the hostages given by the Royalist commander, while his sacrifices in the losses he sustained in King's Cause, were estimated at £30,000, or about £120,000 in money's worth now. His eldest son George Walrond, had lost his right arm in battling for the late Sovereign. Edward Walrond, one of the Colonel's brothers, being a Member of the Temple, was a warm supporter in the Assembly of his elder brother's plans. But, while Colonel Walrond was the leader, the Island swarmed with men who had suffered much for him whom they looked upon as their martyred King, and for that Church which they regarded with loving reverence; but which their opponents had sacrilegiously desecrated. Many had served the King as

Officers in his Army, and had only fled from England when all was lost and their lands sequestrated. ~~Some~~ ^{were} had come to Barbados, as ~~did~~ ^{had} Major Byam, almost directly from the Tower of London, where, with other Officers who were taken prisoners at Bridgewater, he had been imprisoned until let out on a pass "to go beyond seas." How could men who had fought and suffered as these had done, fail to answer at Walrond's call, and when he appealed to them, to throw up their caps and cry *Heigh for King Charles!*

Broken Cavaliers still sought the Island as a place of refuge, and got warm welcome there, and as the young *Cavees*, as the Cavaliers were conventionally called, came upon the scene, the rashness of youth impelled them to drink openly to the health of King Charles. Why should they not repair their fortunes in Little England by, sequestrating the Estates of Roundheads there, as the Parliament had dealt with their own property in Old England? Colonel Walrond assured them he would mount them shortly. Soon a troop of horsemen, bravely mounted, waited upon Colonel Walrond in St. Philip's Parish, where his plantation lay, and these bold dragoons swore they would sheathe their swords in the hearts of all those that would not drink a health to the Figure of II. (Charles II.), and then drink to the confusion of the Independent Dogs. "I wonder, gentlemen, you were not the first, having horses to command!" said Colonel Walrond to these troopers. By this time the people in St. Philip's

Parish and the neighbourhood had been persuaded into the belief that their Roundhead fellow-colonists really had a design to cut off all those loyal to the Prince of Wales, and that they had commissions from the Parliament to set up its power in the Island, and that the petitions were only the first steps towards such ends.

When Governor Bell found that the Royalists were not only scattering "scandalous papers" and spreading rumours and reports in many parts of the Island, but were also openly arming, he issued the following declaration :—

BY THE GOVERNOUR.

Whereas notice hath been taken of the frequent scattering of scandalous Papers in many parts of this Island, and many false rumours and reports have been raised on purpose to beget intestine, and civil broyles, to the ruin and disturbance of the Peace and quiet which we now enjoy.

I do therefore declare that all such persons as shall hereafter be found guilty of spreading any such scandalous Papers, false Rumours and Reports, shall be proceeded against and punished as Enemies to the publick Peace of this Island; and I do hereby require all Justices of the Peace, and the Officers in the severall parts of this Island (whom it may concerne) carefully to apprehend all such persons, and send them as Rebels to the Gaole.

And I do likewise forbid any person or persons to take up any Armes offensive to the Peace or in any hostile manner upon paine of Death.

Given under my hand this 29th day of April.
Anno Dom. 1650. PHILIP BELL.

But a mere Proclamation could not now stay the Cavaliers, who had determined to secure the Island for the Royal Cause; so, when the

Governor required Colonel Shelley, who commanded the first Regiment that took up arms, to disband his forces, that officer sent for answer that his men would march up with bullets in their mouths. The Proclamation was issued on the 29th April, and on the 30th, the Cavaliers were in a condition of warfare.

On the Governor's learning to what a pass things had come, he issued Commissions to Lieutenant Colonel Drax and others to raise forces for the preservation of peace; but that officer had only time to get together about twenty horse and eighty or a hundred foot, and to arrest Major Byam of Colonel Shelley's Regiment, and one of Colonel Walrond's sons, who were posting about to raise forces for the army of Royalists, when it was found that the Cavaliers had raised an alarm and were advancing towards *The Bridge*. Thereupon the Governor sent out a second Commission to Colonel Drax to apprehend the Walronds and their abettors as fomentors of Rebellion, and at the same time charged Commissary General John Parrat to require Colonel Walrond to appear before him: on the Colonel's refusal, then the Commissary General was to demand his Commission from him, and, if that were not delivered, then Walrond was to be proclaimed a Rebel. This was on the 1st of May. On the same day the Governor was to dine by invitation at *The Bridge*, at Master Jobson's Tavern, it would seem; and as he was riding into Town from his plantation near the Indian river, with some neighbours in his company, he was met outside the Town by

Colonel Edmund Reade with a troop of horse, who, after exchanging a few words with the Governor, wheeled about, and, leaving the Governor, rode with his troop towards *The Bridge*. Governor Bell went to his dinner, a meal which in those times was taken early in the afternoon.

When Colonel Walrond received from Commissary General Parrat a letter which the Governor had written to him, he went along with the messenger to the Governor, to whom he presented himself "more like a Saint than a Rebel," and pleaded Not guilty of any intention of evil "in the least". Upon his representations the Governor forthwith discharged him, and he at once repaired to the Royalist Army then marching towards *The Bridge*, and placed himself at its head. That very day Colonel Walrond and Colonel Edmund Reade, having now an army at their back, presented certain Propositions which were signed not only by those two officers but also by the following influential persons who described themselves as "Well-affected to His Majesty", namely:—

HENRY SHELLEY	CHRISTOPHER GILL
THOMAS MODIFORD	JOHN WARE
EDWARD WALROND	PAUL GODWIN
WILLIAM KIRTON	THOMAS READE
BENJAMIN BERRINGER	CHARLES HARVEY
THOMAS ELLIS	DANIEL KENDALL
JAMES BROWN	PHILIP MILLER
WILLIAM BYAM	ROBERT CARLETON.

The whole tendency of the Propositions was to place the power of the Government in the hands of the Royalist Party, to suppress the Parlia-

mentarians, and to declare openly for the Prince of Wales as Charles the Second. The Signers of the Propositions, set out by declaring their resolution, with their lives and fortunes to maintain and defend Captain Bell as Governor of the Island, a resolution in which the Governor readily concurred; then, they demanded that Major Byam should be sent to them, which was done. They required that all Independents, "and the other "disturbers of the Peace of this Island," should be disarmed, to which the Governor agreed, requiring however that the "well affected to His "Majesty" should first engage for the safety of those persons. Their fourth Proposition was that the Magazine at *The Bridge* should be so secured as that it should be safe from seizure by "those "knowne disaffected to His Majesty, and the "peace of his Island;" but, as the Governor's answer "It is already done, and upon my honorable word I will have a care of it," did not meet their wishes, they rejoined in plainer language "that the magazine be put in our trust and "guard, untill it can be disposed of, according to "the former orders of the Assembly;" and, as Captain Bell could not further evade the directness of their intention in this matter he yielded to their demand. Their fifth Proposition required the condign punishment of those persons who had "any wayes sought or endeavoured to obstruct "the peace of this Island, and laboured the ruine "of those loyally affected to His Majesty;" and, to give effect to this, they required that twenty such persons whom they would nominate should

be forthwith apprehended and put into their custody, and that the Governor should call together the General Assembly for the Trial of the offenders, and that speedily, because, said they "our forces cannot disband till it be effect-
"ed." As they engaged upon their honour that the alleged delinquents should not receive injury until they came to their Trial, the demand was allowed. The sixth Proposition ran as follows :—

"That our lawfull soveraigne Charles the Second be
"instantly in a solemn manner proclaimed King."

To this demand the Governor demurred that it was a matter of such consequence as should not be determined upon without consultation with the General Assembly, and the Memorialists agreed to its suspension, on condition of the early convening of the Assembly as required by them. The seventh point was that when the Assembly should be dissolved, only such men as were known to be "well affected to His Majesty, and
"conformable to the discipline of the Church of
"England formerly established," should be chosen and admitted to be members; and this was granted. Their eighth Proposition required an *Act of Oblivion* "for the lawful arms" they had taken up for the defence of the Governor and the public; and that an *Act of Indemnity* pass to all persons that had engaged with them; and the Governor granted this. In the ninth place a safe conduct from the Governor to "all officers of what
"degree soever, being members of Assembly," should be given to them for going to and fro on their Legislative business. This was granted.

The tenth and last Proposition was that the Governor should place himself in the care of the Memorialists, coming to them, however without "any known disaffected person" in his company.

The whole of the Propositions, modified as stated, were agreed upon on the 3rd of May, and thereupon as stated in Chapter I., Charles Stuart, son of the late King, was "with great solemnity" proclaimed King of England, Scotland, France, "and Ireland, &c., and immediately thereupon" the Booke of Common Prayer was declared to "be the only Pattern of true Worship, and commanded to be distinctly, and duly read in every" Parish Church, every Lord's day," &c.

Those who are conversant with the History of the Civil War, will recognize that, in playing their part as above-scribed, the Cavaliers of Barbados had taken their model from the Leaders of the Commons in the early days of the Long Parliament, doing no injustice to the originals, as witness these ardent Royalists, sword in hand, declaring to the Governor that they have taken up "lawful armes" for the defence of "Yourself and the Publick", they having risen in arms in very despite of the Governor's Proclamation; but it is all in the manner of the Long Parliament who levied war against the King in the King's own name, and according to that Body, for the King's defence! Colonel Walrond, however, was a man who was not put to shifts for strategy in politics, if credence may be given to that worthy Roundhead gentleman, Captain Nicholas Foster, who in 1650 wrote *A brieve Re-*

lation of the late Horrid Rebellion acted in the Island Barbados, in the West Indies. According to this authority, Colonel Walrond bethought himself that whilst he was active in raising forces he had given out that the Independents were in arms, intending to cut off the Loyal Colonists, he then well knowing that there were none in arms besides the Cavaliers, except only those troops levied by Colonel Draxe by the Governor's special order and Commission. In order therefore to justify his position the chief of the Cavaliers resorted to a wile. Having consulted with Colonel Thomas Modiford, who was then very "high" for the King, it was agreed upon that Colonel Modiford should send an order to his Lieutenant Colonel and Major for the raising of his Regiment which was to advance to a place appointed for rendezvous; and, the better to effect this, Colonel Modiford repaired to the Governor, placed his regiment at Captain Bell's service as a guard to attend him, who, knowing nothing of the plot gave his consent to the raising of the regiment. And upon that, at Modiford's command, his men ~~took~~ to arms, appear^{ed} in their usual place of exercise, and there, at night, the word ~~was~~ given them ^{was} to march, they being put upon the alarm by information from their officers that Colonel Walrond had raised forces and surprised the Governor, and that their march was for the Governor's relief. With Lieutenant Colonel Birch, the Major, and several Captains in command, the regiment marched, and that night pitched their colours in the field, expecting in the morning to march for

the Governor's relief, but, when morning came, instead of a forward march, the order to counter-march was given, and the men were dismissed to their homes, every one to return to his habitation on pain of death. Of course, some of those who had taken up arms so readily for the Governor's protection were of the party not "well affected to his Majesty"; rank Roundheads in fact who would gladly have come to blows with the Walronds and their backers; and this was just the very point that Colonel Walrond had designed to encompass. He now urged that this Regiment was raised in opposition to him, and that those who served with it were Delinquents and Disturbers of the peace; and must be proceeded against accordingly, and it was at such persons that the third and fifth PROPOSITIONS were specially aimed.

It was when things were in this state that the Lord Willoughby of Parham came upon the scene, bringing a Commission from the second Earl of Carlisle to be his Lieutenant General of the Caribbee Islands, and another Commission from Charles the Second to be the King's Governor of Barbados and the other Islands. It was thought by the Council of the King in exile, to be advisable that this second Commission should be given because of the fact that there were so many Royalist officers in Barbados. Lord Willoughby arrived in Carlisle Bay from Holland on the 29th of April 1650, but, for various reasons he considered it desirable to remain on board ship for some days before making known the fact of his

presence. When, on the 7th of May, Lord Willoughby notified to Governor Bell that he had Commissions from the King and from the Lord Proprietor, Colonel Walrond objected that his Lordship had at one time been a Roundhead and that he might again prove to be one, but it was finally settled that his Commission from Lord Carlisle should be accepted, Lord Willoughby on his part, at the request of the Governor, Council, and Assembly, agreeing to defer his assumption of the Government of Barbados for three months "in respect of the uncertainty and dis-tractions of the present time"; which being interpreted means, that the Walronds and their partisans wished for time to "work their wicked will" upon their Roundhead fellow Colonists before giving over the reins of Government. On the same day, Charles Stuart was again proclaimed in Barbados as the lawful King of England, Lord Willoughby giving the trumpeters money and as much wine as they could drink—and this in spite of the English Parliament's Proclamation that they should be deemed Traitors, and should suffer accordingly, who should presume to declare Charles Stuart, son of the late Charles Stuart, commonly called the Prince of Wales, to be King or chief Magistrate of England "or of any dominions belonging thereunto."

Being ever a man of action, Lord Willoughby made use of the three months of interval to visit the Leeward Islands of his Government, and there he proclaimed Charles the Second with such effect, that the King shortly afterwards commis-

sioned Major General Sir Sydenham Poyntz, who like Lord Willoughby had deserted the Roundheads, to be Governor of those Islands. Major Byam accompanied Lord Willoughby from Barbados to Antigua, and there received a grant of land in that Colony, in which island the Byams had been for more than two hundred years, landed proprietors, when, a few years ago,—by the death of Sir William Byam, an old Waterloo officer, and President of the old time Council of Antigua, who had lived in much honour in the Island, *Cedar Hill* passed out of the family, and a race which had given many soldiers to the State, besides lawyers and divines, with a store of good planters as well, at the same time, came to be remembered only by the name they had made in our West Indian annals.

To work, now went the Walronds and their partisans to suppress the Parliamentary party in the Island, and THOROUGH was, if not the word, at all events the manner of their actions as fully as it had been that of Laud and Strafford. Had not Lord Willoughby arrived in the very nick of time and dissuaded them therefrom, they would have adjudged divers persons to death by a Council of War. Forthwith they passed an *Act of Indemnity* in their own behalf. Then the young Cavaliers who were the first to make open profession of their loyalty, being now mounted on the choicest horses of the Island, rode up and down the country disarming those not loyally affected; which being done, the twenty persons referred to in the fifth PROPOSITION as Disturbers

of the Peace of the Island, were named as follows :—

THOMAS MATHEWE.	CHRISTOPHER LYNE
JOHN CLINCKETT.	SAMUEL HYAT.
JOHN BAYES.	HENRY MASSEY.
CONSTANT SILVESTER.	Lt. Colonel JAMES DRAKE.
Colonel JOHN FITZ JAMES.	Captain THOMAS MIDDLE-
Major WILLIAM FORTE-	TON.
SCUE.	Capt. REYNOLD ALLEYNE
Lt. THOMAS ROUS.	Captain DAVID BIX.
Lt. JOHN JOHNSON.	Captain LEWIS MORRIS.
RICHARD HAWKINS.	Capt. JOHN HOCKERIDGE.
THOMAS PEARCE.	Captain PETER KIDNEY.

some of these being men of the highest consideration in the Colony, who had held much authority there and were possessed of plentiful estates in it. Divers of them, however, knowing what sort of a trial awaited them, had taken ship and left the island. Those who remained received a summons to appear before the General Assembly to answer charges of endeavouring to ruin those loyally affected to His Majesty and of endeavouring to alter the Government of Church and State as formerly established, and to bring in the Parliament's authority, with some other charges, the indictment concluding with the sentence of the General Assembly :

That for these their crimes and offences they should pay one Million of Sugars fine and be banished the Island.

The proscribed gentlemen appeared and pleaded Not Guilty, asking to be allowed to answer to each charge separately. Such an inconvenient course could not, however, be allowed, and, when

the impeached further demanded a legal trial, they were answered with the objection that the Army must be kept on foot till such a trial should be over, which would be a great charge and one they would themselves have to pay for; it being even suggested to them that the Army should cosher them into good manners. The defendants were then committed to a guard for the night. The next morning they were again brought before the Assembly and condemned to fines in sugar in the manner hereinunder stated, namely:—

Lieut. Col. JAMES DRAKE	to pay 80,000 lbs. of Sugar.
Captain THOMAS MIDDLETON	" 20,000 " "
Lieut. THOMAS ROUS	" 20,000 " "
Lieut. JOHN JOHNSON	" 40,000 " "
CONSTANT SILVESTER	" 10,000 " "
Captain JOHN HOCKERIDGE and THOMAS PEARSE	} " 10,000 " "
Captain REYNOLD ALLEYNE	" 5,000 " "
THOMAS MATHEWS	" 5,000 " "

In those days the Council, and the Burgesses elected by the various parishes, appear to have sat together and formed the General Assembly, a body which not only constituted the Legislature of the Colony but seem^d to have acted as a Supreme Criminal Court. After the Restoration, on Lord Willoughby's reappointment to the Government of Barbados, his Patent gave him power to order the Council and Assembly to sit "together or apart", and on the 25th of August 1663 it was ordered in Council that "the Assembly sit with the Council at this time", but that appears to be the last occasion on which the two bodies sat together as a General Assembly.

The next thing was the appointment of two Commissions, one for compositions of Delinquents' Estates, and the other for the examination of witnesses concerning the late Disturbers of the Peace of the Island; the two Commissions sitting at the same time at Master John Jobson's Tavern. It was not without cause that the Roundheads pointed out how unfair a trial their leaders had been put upon when they were condemned first, and, after that, then a Commission had been appointed to collect evidence against them. On the 11th and 23rd of May, Acts were passed ordering that between ninety and one hundred Independents, as they were termed, and their adherents, all of whom were named, should leave the Island on or before the 2nd of July. Not only men, but women also, were thus banished, among them being James Clinckett and his wife, of St. Peter's, John Clinckett and his wife, and William Marshall and his wife, of St. Andrew's, and Francis Raynes and his wife, of St. George's. Those of the "delinquents" who duly paid the fines to which they had "voluntarily consented", and submitted to their banishment, were thereupon to be "pardoned, fully "remitted and discharged of all the crime and "offence" with which they were charged, and were to be allowed to nominate to the management of their estates during their own banishment, such persons as they chose and "in whom "the Public could confide". This must have been a fine time for attorneys. The two Commissions went to work with a will: that for Composition

letting it be known that if Fines were not promptly paid in, the Independents' estates would be sold, while the Commissioners for Examination called up the inhabitants of one parish this week and of another parish the week after.

There being up to the present time no evidence of the Roundhead Plot of which the Cavalier party had said so much, and to prevent the deeds of which they had taken up arms and acted with so much violence, some of the Colonists began to ask why the Roundheads had been so highly fined and been condemned to banishment? If, moreover, these had been guilty of so horrid a plot as it had been given out that they were, why were they not prosecuted in law and severely punished? It was also observed that most of those who had been fined and banished had lived a long time in the Island, many of them having been of eminency in places of authority, who had ever done their best for the colony; that, as a rule, they were men of good estates in the Island, peaceable folks, while Colonel Walrond himself had not been many years on the Island, and most of his adherents were only newcomers and men having no fortunes in the colony; that the Roundheads had not taken up Arms as had been pretended, for the ruin of the other inhabitants, but only by the Governor's order, upon whose order also they had disbanded. Now, too, that the Independents had been disarmed, why was a Force still kept up, to the great prejudice of the Country, unless the Cavaliers intended to maintain themselves in power and to turn Barba-

dos into a place of Refuge for Royalists? The soldiery asked to be disbanded, and many people, although Cavaliers, murmured at the highhandedness of the proceedings, insomuch that some of the latter were questioned, and looked upon as adherents to and favourers of the Independents, as the Roundheads were now invariably called.

Feasting is said to have been at this time much in vogue with the Royalist leaders, in fact "the greatest of their employments." At a feast given on the 12th of June at which the grandees of the party were present, with the officers of their army, some of the Cavaliers came into the room where the revellers were assembled and spoke to the following effect. They said there was much discontent in the Country on account of the harsh way in which the Independents had been dealt with; that it was feared Trade would thereby be obstructed; which would be the certain ruin of the colony; that by their bidding defiance to the Parliament "in so high a nature" they should be proclaimed Rebels to their native country (England); that when they were called to arms, it was pretended that it was only to show their loyalty and forwardness to and for His Majesty; and that there was nothing to show that there was such a plot among the Independents to destroy the Loyalists as had been alleged. To these remonstrances was added a request that steps should be taken to compose all differences and thus prevent the ruin which many of the inhabitants apprehended. In reply, the Royalist leaders said that the remonstrants need not

trouble their minds with such an apprehension as that Parliament would take notice of their proceedings, as the Roundheaded Rebels of Westminster Hall had their hands full otherwise—alluding of course to work Cromwell had in hand in Ireland, and to the work preparing for him in Scotland. If it were not so, they said, the Rump Parliament might fix their eye upon Virginia and the Bermudas which had shown them a precedent for what they had done, and yet the Parliament had not taken notice of it. These bold Cavaliers plainly declared that they would league themselves with the Hollanders, and they neither did, nor would, nor had cause, to mind the Parliament, or any thing the Parliament would or could do to them, “with divers sleighting expressions and contumelious words to the same effect.”

Representations such as were made by the moderate Cavaliers were, however, highly inconvenient and objectionable to the Walrond party, and it was necessary that such indiscretions should be discouraged. On the following day, therefore, the General Assembly resolved to deal vigorously with the Independent party. Setting out with a declaration that Colonel James Draxe, Captain Thomas Middleton, Captain Reynold Alleyne, Master Edward Thompson, Master Constant Silvester, Lieutenant Thomas Rous, Lieutenant John Johnson, Master Thomas Perkins, and Master Christopher Lyne, had abused the freedom and liberty allowed them by the General Assembly, by travelling from place to place to assert their

own innocency, and the oppression of the General Assembly in punishing them, "which shall upon "their Tryall appear to the whole world to the "contrary, which shall with as much speed as "may be possible be prosecuted against them," the Resolution of the General Assembly, then indicted the Colonists aforementioned, with having used many "seditious and scandalous speeches," in order to stir up many good people to engage with them, and with making "His Majesty's subjects in this Island" discontented by telling them that Trade with England was now lost. But the offenders were charged with something worse than these delinquencies, in "impudently "affirming that the General Assembly are "ashamed of what they have done"! This would indeed have been the unkindest cut of all, had not a Roundhead writer disposed of it as false, with the sarcastic observation that if the spirit of grace had been as prevalent with the General Assembly as the spirit of deceit and falsehood was, then the Assemblymen would, and justly might, be ashamed of their proceedings. To "satisfy His Majesty's loving subjects," therefore, it was now ordered that the aforementioned Colonists should be committed prisoners to the house and Plantation of Lieut.-Colonel James Draxe, and Colonels Walrond and Modiford were desired to raise a guard of eighteen musketeers under a commissioned officer for the safe-keeping of these prisoners, at whose own charge the guard was to be maintained. All other persons named in the list of Delinquents to be banished

were, at the same time, ordered to be confined to their houses and plantations until they departed from the colony.

The Parliamentarians now found that Barbados had become too hot for them. The Royalists were becoming somewhat sanguinary, and it was understood that they were bent upon condemning to death some of the Parliamentarians, and confiscating their Estates. Even a man like Colonel Thomas Modiford who kept on terms with the Roundheads, although himself an ardent Loyalist, had become uncomfortably blood thirsty, confiding to one of the opposite party that "if he acted so high in the business as the Walronds did, he would have good store of them, and by that means engage the Country in the quarrel: so that the Country (if any opposition came) being as deeply engaged as themselves, might stand by them". There was now nothing left to those sentenced to banishment but to accept their fate, and leave the Colony, and get to England, there to lay their grievances before the Parliament from whom they counted upon getting help, and not without reason. Why were they allowed to leave the Island without a trial for that dark Plot in which they had been said to have been so deeply engaged?

Punctually to the time fixed, Lord Willoughby returned to Barbados and assumed the Government. His was not a spirit to brook a rival near the Throne, and hence one of his first acts was to remove Colonel Humphrey Walrond and Colo-

nel Ellis from the Council, and to appoint in their stead Colonel Shelley and Captain Henry Guy, "as bad or worse than they could be", as these are described in the "Humble proposals of "several Barbadeans", made to the Council of State on the 22nd of November, 1650. To fortify the Island was the new Governor's chief care, and to secure it for the King, and on the 17th of October he procured the passing of an Act entitled "An acknowledgement and declaration "of the inhabitants of Barbados of His Majesty's "right to the dominion of this Island; and the "right of the Right Honourable the Earl of "Carlisle, derived from his said Majesty; and "by the Earl of Carlisle to the Right Honourable "the Lord Willoughby of Parham; and also for "the unanimous profession of the true religion "in this Island, and imposing condign punishment upon the opposers thereof".

Meanwhile, the General Assembly had not been idle, and Acts had been passed for the security of persons who engaged to furnish the Island with means of defence; for the speedy fortification of the marine parts of the Island, and the better preservation of its present and future peace; for the better encouragement of trade; and no doubt as accessory to this, another Act for the repeal of part of an Act for rating shirts, smocks, shoes, and drawers; for an addition to an Act for the confiscation of fugitives' Estates; and one for the more distinct reading and publishing by the Ministers of the Acts of Assembly of the Island.

About this time Prince Rupert went to Marseilles intending to go thence to Barbados with his vessels to support the Royalists of that Colony. The Council of State and the Parliament were also now astir in the "*business of Barbados*".



CHAPTER VII.

The Commonwealth and the Colonies.

Far as the eye can reach the billows foam,
Survey our Empire and behold our Home.

From the end of the Fifteenth Century, when Henry the Seventh commissioned John and Sebastian Cabot to set up the King's standard in the New World, until the beginning of the Civil War, the Kings of England assumed as Sovereign Lords, exclusive possession over lands newly found out by their subjects, to the preclusion of the State itself. The Plantations or Colonies were the King's Foreign Dominions, his demesne lands in *partibus exterioris*, and not parts of his Kingdom of England. The Proprietary Colonies, like that of the Caribbee Islands, were erected into Provinces, within which the Proprietor, as the King's Deputy or Governor, was invested with all

the same Royal powers which appertained to the King in his Palace, both Executive and Legislative. These Provinces were all virtually Counties Palatine, as was, for instance, Lord Carlisle's province of Carlisle in the Caribbees, wherein the proprietor had all the power and authority which the Bishop of Durham in his own county had, according to the custom of Durham.

When, therefore, in the days of King James the First the building up of our "Colonial" Empire was set about, the right of the Parliament of England to legislate in Colonial concerns was not recognised, and an attempt on the part of that body to intervene in such affairs was deemed a rather impertinent invasion of the Royal Prerogative: and so much so that when, in 1621, the House of Commons put in the claim of the State to the Free Right of Fishery on the North American Coasts, and attempted to set up the jurisdiction of Parliament over that Right, members were told in the House by the Servants of the Crown that "It was not fit to make Laws here for those countries which are not yet annexed to the Crown," and, that "This Bill was not proper for this House, as it concerneth America." When too, in 1624, the House was about to proceed upon a petition from the settlers in Virginia, to take cognizance of the affairs of the Plantations,—upon the Speaker's producing and reading to the House a letter from the King concerning that petition, the petition was then by general resolution withdrawn.

Having thus asserted the Royal Supremacy as

Sovereign Lord, the King and his Council then proceeded to treat the constitutions of the several Colonies as placing these in the same position as the island of Jersey, which was held as part of the Duchy of Normandy and had been associated with the Crown of England from the days of the Conqueror : and thus it came about that appeals from the Colonial Courts were made, not to the Courts of Equity or Common Law in England, or to the House of Lords, but to the King in Council, as appeals from Jersey were brought before the King of England, as Duke of Normandy in his Council.

Afterwards, as the affairs of the Colonies multiplied, it was found necessary to appoint certain members of the King's Council to supervise their administration, and hence on the 28th of April, 1634, Lords Commissioners for the Plantations were appointed in the persons of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury ; Thomas, Lord Coventry, Lord Keeper ; Richard Neyle, Archbishop of York ; Richard, Earl of Portland, Lord High Treasurer ; Henry, Earl of Manchester, and of seven other officers of State. The Earl of Manchester's name which appears in the foregoing list shows that from the earliest times the family of the President of the Council of the Royal Colonial Institute has been identified with the Colonies, while in the last century one of its members attempted to found an English Colony in St. Lucia, and in the early part of this century another for twenty years governed Jamaica in the days of its wealth.

The powers given to these Lords Commissioners were somewhat extended by a subsequent Commission, issued on the 10th April, 1638.

To them, appeals from the Law Courts were referred; and, an attempt on the part of Francis Mount, acting as Administrator of the estate of Herbert Mount, who had been a Member of Council in St. Christopher's, to sue FitzWilliam Conisbye in the Court of King's Bench at Westminster in 1638, for goods which Conisbye had received in St. Christopher's in the established course of Justice, was suppressed on the application of the second Earl of Carlisle to the King, although the action had been set down for trial before Sir John Bramstone the Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

Soon after the rupture between the King and the Parliament the latter, by an Ordinance of 1643, appointed Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, the Lord High Admiral, to be Governor-in-Chief, and Lord High Admiral of all the Plantations in America, and with this "Stout Earl of Warwick" other Peers and Commons were nominated by Parliament as Commissioners for Plantations. On the 24th of November, 1643, this body of notables issued a Commission to Sir ~~Francis~~ *Thomas* Warner appointing him Governor and Lieutenant General of *the* Caribbee Islands, under the Earl of Warwick, Governor-in-Chief of all the Plantations in America, when Governor Warner's commission was signed by the following among other memorable personages, Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; Edward, Earl of Man-

chester; Philip, Lord Wharton; John, Lord Roberts; Sir Gilbert Gerard; Sir Arthur Haselrigg; Sir Henry Vane, the younger; Sir Benjamin Rudyard; John Pym, and Oliver Cromwell.

It is from this time that the control of Parliament over the affairs of the colonies began, the right of the Legislature to deal with such matters being admitted by Charles the Second on the Restoration and maintained to the present day. The exercise of that right has from time to time been somewhat modified by the resistance of the colonists themselves, more especially in the case of the old Plantations in North America, which have now grown into such a magnificent State that the fact of their having once been English colonies seems likely to be forgotten by Englishmen, though it never will be by the descendants of the older colonists. On the 2nd March, 1650, the Council of State resolved that the whole Council, or any five of its Members should become a Committee for Trade and Plantations. This was the body, with John Bradshaw, the Lord President, at its head, to whom the banished Barbadians would now appeal for redress.

Six months after the beheading of the King, the Council of State caused Letters to be written to the Plantations to notify the change of Government, and to require the colonists to continue their obedience as they looked for protection. But no sooner did the Virginians and Bermudians hear that the King was dead than they proclaimed his son; the colonists of the

"Still vext Bermoothes", although a feeble folk, boldly declaring their defiance and detestation of the "horrid act", and requiring the Governor of the colony to proclaim the Prince of Wales as Charles the Second. And now colonists began to arrive in England from Barbados who told how that colony had openly adopted the Royal Cause, and placed itself in rebellion to the Commonwealth. Forthwith, orders were given by the Council of State to make stay in all the ports of England of any ships going to Barbados, while the Committee of the Admiralty, with the younger Sir Henry Vane at their head, took steps to have a declaration prepared for Parliament, together with an Act for the prohibition of all trade with that Island; the Commissioners of Customs were instructed to examine all ships from Barbados, to ascertain whether they had on board any goods belonging to persons who stood out in rebellion to the Commonwealth; and, it was decided to report to Parliament that the Council of State found it necessary for the reduction of Barbados and other places which adhered to that Island, and for prevention of trade there, that a Fleet should be despatched thither with all speed.

On the 10th of September Sir Henry Vane, the same person whom Cromwell afterwards, on dissolving the Rump, apostrophised, "Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane, the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane"! — Colonel Morley, Mr. Chalonier, and Mr. Bond, as the Committee of the Admiralty, considered the draft of an Act con-

cerning the reducing of Barbados, Bermuda, and Virginia. The draft was read in the presence of "divers Barbadoſmen", but the matter of fact "not appearing to be rightly stated", it was ordered that Dr. Walker, the States Advocate, be desired to attend Mr. Chaloner on the following day, at 7 o'clock in the morning, with "some "of the gentlemen that came from Barbados", to confer together touching the right stating of the matter of fact, and to prepare it for the Committee for presentation to the Council of State, thence to be transmitted to the Parliament. The draft having been corrected by Lord President Bradshaw was "reported" on the 19th of September, read a first and second time on the 27th, and was passed on the 3rd of October. This Act prohibited Trade and Commerce with Barbados, Antigua, Virginia, and the Somers' Islands, because of their Rebellion against the Commonwealth of England; while the colonists were proclaimed Traitors to the Commonwealth. This Act laid the foundation of those NAVIGATION LAWS under which, for the greater part of two centuries the commerce of the colonies was crippled by a monopoly, to the advantage of the Mother-country. By means of these Laws, however, Great Britain was enabled to build up that Naval Power which has been from time to time put forth for the protection and preservation of her own Colonial possessions, and for the destruction and annexation of the colonies of other nations: their operation it was that enabled Britannia to secure such a predominance on the

Ocean as has been sung by the Poet Campbell in his well known lines—

Her march is o'er the mountain waves,
Her home is on the deep.

On the 3rd of October, Parliament also ordered that a strong Fleet, with a number of Transports should be "despatched" away with all possible speed, for reducing "the Island of Barbados, and "all other English Plantations that should "persist in opposition to the Government of this "Commonwealth"; and, that the Council of State should give orders to the "generals at sea" that they take care, in case any ships be found by them trading to Barbados, Bermuda, Virginia, Antigua, and other islands, contrary to the Act prohibiting trade to those parts, that they should make stay of them until they should have given an account to Parliament or the Council of State and receive further instructions therein. On the 9th of October, the Committee of the Admiralty, on learning that ten or twelve ships were about to sail for Barbados from Dutch ports, ordered the Commanders in the Downs, to "make stay "of them" in the Channel; and, on the 13th of November the Council of State ordered the Committee of the Admiralty to ascertain what goods were in the Custom House belonging to any Planters in Barbados, and "the affection" of the owners to the Commonwealth, and to take steps for the delivery of such goods to the proprietors.

The men of iron will who then ruled England required little prompting to the course which they adopted, but they could not complain of

want of interest on the part of the exiles themselves, which extended from the representations made by John Webb, that his tongue had been bored through with a hot iron in Barbados, and by Captain Tineman and Lieutenant Brandon, that they had been branded on their cheeks with the letter T; to "Humble desires", "Humble proposals", "Propositions", and "Thoughts" which were fired off at the Council of State by Merchants and Planters interested in Barbados. Colonel James Draxe, and his brother William, Captain Reynold Alleyne, and "learned Mr. John Bayes" were among those who represented the grievances of the banished islanders.

The fleet which was ordered on the 3rd of October, 1650, was not reported as ready until the 22nd of January, 1651, when seven ships mounting 236 guns, and manned with 820 men, were prepared for the "Barbados business." These vessels were called "the Barbados Fleet." Instead however of going to Barbados directly they were used for the reduction of the Scilly Isles, which they successfully accomplished in June, when Sir John Grenville, the Royalist Governor of those Isles, was brought prisoner to England; and it was only on the 19th of June that the expedition for Barbados was finally taken in hand. The fleet left Plymouth on the 5th of August, 1651, and consisted of the *Rainbow*, carrying Sir George Ayscue as Admiral, the *Malaga Merchant*, with Captain Pack as Vice-Admiral, the *Amity*, *Success*, *Ruth*, *Brazil*, and *Increase*.

With these vessels went some six or seven merchant ships.

Sir George Ayscue or Ayscough, who commanded the Fleet, was a Lincolnshire gentleman whose father had held an office at the Court of King Charles, and on whose account it would seem, rather than for claims of his own, the King had knighted Ayscue and his elder brother Edward, at an early age. The Admiral had taken early to the sea, and had shewn himself a good sailor, but he had up to this time done nothing particular, excepting at the Scilly Isles, whence he had just returned, unless the command of the fleet which transported Oliver Cromwell's army to Ireland in 1649, be considered a title to fame. When, however, the Fleet had gone over to the King from the Parliament's side, Ayscue had kept his ship loyal to the latter. He was an honourable gentleman, with a high sense of duty, and his subsequent actions proved him a very capable Commander.

With Sir George Ayscue, were associated Daniel Searle, and Captain Michael Pack, as Commissioners for reducing Barbados. The instructions given to these Commissioners were, that on their arrival they were to make known the cause of their coming, and to omit no opportunity to reduce the island. If they found the inhabitants sensible of their late defection, power was given to assure pardon and indemnity, except to such persons as they should think fit to omit. Everything concluded by them was to be effectual and valid to all intents and purposes.

They were to insist that the inhabitants of Barbados should submit to the Commonwealth. The Acts of Parliament against Kingship, abolishing the House of Lords, for abolishing the Book of Common Prayer, and for taking the Engagement, with other Acts delivered to them, were to be published. All the inhabitants were to take the Engagement, and the Governors from time to time appointed by the Parliament were to be received. Those who had been damnified either in person or estate on account of their affection to the Commonwealth, were to have full reparation. The charges for the reduction of the Island were to be repaid "so far as you find it feasible" by the inhabitants, whose rebellion and delinquency occasioned the expense. All trade and intelligence with the Island were to be prohibited. The Commissioners were given 'full powers to treat and conclude upon any other articles they might find advantageous to the Commonwealth.

In case of the death of Admiral Ayscue, then Captain Michael Pack was to command the Fleet : if Captain Pack died before Ayscue, then the latter was to nominate his successor. Sailing from Plymouth on the 5th of August, and carrying several merchants and planters of the colony as passengers (among them Colonel James Draxe, Mr. Raynes, Captain Reynold Alleyne, who seems now to have gone with the rank of Colonel, and Mr. John Bayes) the Barbados fleet with its convoy made for Lisbon, to seek for Prince Rupert, according to the orders

of the Council of State, and the ships remained off the Tagus for five days, from the 16th to the 21st of August, alarming the Portuguese, but unable to force them to fight. On the 21st the fleet sailed for St. Vincent, in the Cape Verd Islands, arriving there on the 8th of September, and remaining ten days, during which time their beer got so bad that it stank, and had to be thrown over board. The ships having taken in water at St. Vincent, then made for Barbados.

Prince Rupert was not at Lisbon when Sir George Ayscue came to the Tagus, but was at that time cruising off the Western Islands. This he was doing much against his will, for the desire of his heart was to make a voyage to the West Indies and join forces with the Cavaliers there. When, however, in the early part of July he had made known his resolve to the Commanders of his ships, the majority of them, headed by Captain Chester of the *Swallow*, entered into a combination against his purpose, and on one pretext after another they carried their own point, and it was thus decided to cruise off the Western Islands. Among the arguments urged by the obstructives against the voyage to the West Indies, was, that nothing but starvation could be expected there, that no considerable quantity of cassada was to be had there, and that the men could never be brought to feed on it, "which I have seen the contrary of by our men leaving good meat to eat it", says Captain Pitts, who was one of those in favour of the West Indian expedition. Time after time did the Prince renew

his proposal, but so often did his ill-conditioned opponents succeed in thwarting the man whose charge had been found irresistible at Marston Moor, at Naseby Fight, and on many another field of battle. It was while in this enforced state of inaction, going backwards and forwards amongst the Azores, receiving now a "gallant reception" from the Governor of St. Michaels, now a coldly civil reception from the Governor of Terceira, who "stood on his gravity", that the Commonwealth's Fleet went by, undescried. At the end of the same month, September, in a terrible storm, the Prince's own ship, the *Constant Reformation*, was lost, with almost all hands in her. The Prince had determined himself to go down in her, but was by main force put into a boat, which just managed to take him safely on board his brother's vessel. The brave way in which his comrades met their common fate has yet to be celebrated in English poetry.

It was some time in the month of February 1651 when news came, by a ship from Holland, to Barbados that the colonists there had been proclaimed Rebels by Act of Parliament, and that a Fleet was to be sent out to reduce the Islanders to allegiance to the Commonwealth. The tidings thus brought stirred the colonists to action, they being resolved to fight for their self-preservation and to stand by one another to the last man. It so happened that the General Assembly was at the time in session, and the members of that body now called upon the Governor to put the Island in a posture of war, to which end, forces of

both horse and foot were raised, which were to be paid by the Colony and kept as a standing army. On the 19th of February an Act was passed for the defence of the Government, Liberty, and Freedom, of Barbados, and to this Act was annexed an "Engagement" after the manner of the *Engagement* which the Parliament had established for the security of the Commonwealth. It was, however, on the previous day that Lord Willoughby and his Royalist Legislators made their *Declaration* against the English Parliament, in which the Lord Lieutenant General together with "the Lords of this Council and Assembly" sounded their counterblast of defiance to the Independent Dogs of Westminster Hall. Any one reading the Declaration must admit that it has the ring of the old days of Rome about it: that it breathes the spirit of "free-born Englishmen." It runs thus;—

A Declaration of Lord Willoughby and the Legislature of the Island of Barbados against the British Parliament.

- "A Declaration of my Lord Willoughby, Lieutenant-General, and Governor of Barbados, and other Carabis Islands; as also the Council of the Island belonging to it; serving in answer to a certaine Act formerly put forth by the Parliament of England, the 3rd of October 1650.
- "A Declaration, published by Order of my Lord Lieutenant-General, the 18th of February 1651, the Lords of the Council, and of the Assemblie, being occasioned at the sight of certaine printed Papers, intituled, An Act forbidding Commerce and Traffick with the Barbados, Virginia, Bermudas, and Antego.
- "The Lord Lieutenant-General, together with the

Lords of this Council and Assembly, having carefully read over the said printed Papers, and finding them to oppose *the freedom, safety, and well-being of this island*, have thought themselves bound to communicate the same to all the inhabitants of this island; as also their observation and resolution concerning it, and to proceed therein after the best manner, wherefore they have ordered the same to be read publicly.

"Concerning the abovesaid Act, by which the least capacity may comprehend how much the inhabitants of this island would be brought into contempt and slavery, if the same be not timely prevented :

"First—They alledge that this island was first settled and inhabited at the charges, and by the especial order of the people of England, and therefore ought to be subject to the same nation. It is certain, that we all of us know very well, that wee, the present inhabitants of this island, were and still be that people of England, *who with great danger to our persons, and with great charge and trouble, have settled this island in its condition, and inhabited the same*, and shall wee therefore be subjected to the will and command of those that stay at home? Shall we be bound to the Government and Lordship of a Parliament in which we have no Representatives, or persons chosen by us, for there to propound and consent to what might be needful to us, as also to oppose and dispute all what should tend to our disadvantage and harme? In truth, this would be a slavery far exceeding all that the English nation hath yet suffered. And we doubt not but the courage which hath brought us thus far out of our own country, to seek our beings and livelihoods in this wild country, will maintaine us in our freedoms; without which our lives will be uncomfortable to us.

"Secondly—It is alledged that the inhabitants of this island have, by cunning and force, usurped a power and Government.

"If we, the inhabitants of this island, had been heard what we could have said for ourselves, this alle-

gation had never been printed; but those who are destined to be slaves may not enjoy those privileges; otherwise we might have said and testified with a truth, that the Government now used amongst us, is the same that hath always been ratified, and doth every way agree with the first settlement and Government in these places; and was given us by the same power and authority that New England hold theirs; against whom the Act makes no objection.

"And the Government here in subjection, is the nearest model of conformity to that under which our predecessors of the English nation have lived and flourished for above a thousand years. Therefore we conclude, that the rule of reason and discourse is most strangely mistaken, if the continuation and submission to a right well-settled Government be judged to be an usurping of a new power, and to the contrarie, the usurpation of a new Government be held a continuation of the old.

"Thirdly—By the abovesaid Act all outlandish nations are forbidden to hold any correspondency or traffick with the inhabitants of this island; although all the antient inhabitants know very well, how greatly they have been obliged to those of the Low Countries for their subsistence, and how difficult it would have been for us, without their assistance, ever to have inhabited these places, or to have brought them into order: and we are yet dayly sensible, what necessary comfort they bring to us dayly, and that they do sell their commodities a great deal cheaper than our own nation will doe: But this comfort must be taken from us by those whose will must be a Law to us: But we declare, that we will never be so unthankful to the Netherlanders for their former help and assistance, as to deny or forbid them, or any other nation, the freedom of our harbours, and the protection of our Laws, by which they may continue, if they please, all freedom of commerce and traffick with us.

"Fourthly—For to perfect and accomplish our intended slavery, and to make our necks pliable for to

undergo the yoeake, they got and forbid to our own countrymen, to hold any correspondency, commerce, or traffick with us, nor to suffer any to come at us, but such who have obtained particular licences from some persons, who are expressly ordered for that purpose, by whose means it might be brought about, that noe other goods or merchandizes shall be brought hither, than such as the licensed persons shall please and think fit to give way to ; and that they are to sell the same at such a price, as they shall please to impose on them ; and suffer no other ships to come hither but their own : As likewise that no inhabitants of this island may send home upon their own account any island goods of this place, but shall be as slaves to the Companie, who shall have the abovesaid licences, and submit to them the whole advantage of our labour and industry.

“Wherefore, having rightly considered, we declare, that as we would not be wanting to use all honest means for the obtaining of a continuance of commerce, trade, and good correspondence with our country, soe wee will not alienate ourselves from those old heroick virtues of true English men, to prostitute our freedom and privileges, to which we are borne, to the will and opinion of any one ; neither do we thinke our number so contemptible, nor our resolution so weake, to be forced or perswaded to so ignoble a submission, *and we cannot think, that there are any amongst us, who are soe simple, and soe unworthily minded, that they would not rather chuse a noble death, than forsake their ould liberties and privileges.*”

To supply the sinews of war an Act was passed on the 3rd of April, 1651, “For the borrowing of goods for the present defence of Barbados”.

Francis, Lord Willoughby of Parham, who now held Barbados against the Parliament of England, was a man of great courage, and of most

resolute will. When the Civil War broke out he had taken the side of Parliament, and, notwithstanding that King Charles sent him positive orders to the contrary, he was one of the first to raise forces in the Eastern counties for the Parliament. In those counties he had acted in conjunction with the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell; and at Gainsborough and Newark, he had fought with much distinction. When the Independents got the upper hand, Lord Willoughby, who was a Presbyterian, sided with those Members of Parliament who opposed the power of the Army, and in 1647 he was one of those Peers who were accused of treason by the House of Commons, and his property was sequestered. This occasioned his flight to Holland, and his open declaration there for the King. The Duke of York then appointed him Vice Admiral of the Royal ships, a position which he ~~had held~~ until relieved by Prince Rupert's appointment. He was not a sailor but a soldier, was weary of dealing with mutinous seamen, and wished to be rid of the duty. Lord Clarendon says: "The Lord Willoughby stay'd on board purely out of duty to the King, though he liked neither the place he had nor the people over whom he was to command, who had yet more respect for him than for any body else." As has already been described, this nobleman came out to Barbados early in 1650, as Lieutenant General for the Earl of Carlisle, the Proprietor of the Caribbee Islands, and as Governor there for the King. His wife was a daughter of that English

General, Lord Wimbledon, who was called General *Sit-Still*, his family name being Cecil, in derision of his feeble action in the expedition against Spain. Lady Willoughby remained in England, but promised to join her husband in Barbados.

The same vessel that brought the news of what had been done and was intended to be done by the Commonwealth, also brought letters to Lord Willoughby. Lady Willoughby urged her husband to submit to the Parliament, but although, as he wrote to her,—“Poor soul; to hear of the sadness of thy condition, to be brought to so low a stipend, cuts my heart”, his proud spirit would not bend to the storm, and, he declared “since they began so deeply with me, as to take away all at one clap, and without any cause given on my part, I am resolved not to sit down a loser, and be content to see thee, my children, and self ruined”. Smarting under the ingratitude of the Parliament in whose cause he had done so much, he asks and answers himself, “and being it is in my own power to help myself, shall I not do it, but sit still like an ass, seeing the meat torn out of thine and my children’s mouths? No! I will not do it; and therefore, dear heart, let me entreat thee to leave off thy persuasions to submit to them, who so unjustly, so wickedly, have ruined thee and me and mine”. How resolved to resist was this bold baron of England can be seen from the following declaration to his wife:—“If ever they get the Island, it shall cost them more than it is worth

"before they have it. And be not frightened with their power and success: God is above all. * * * "One comfort we have, they can neither starve us with cold, nor famish us for hunger; and why should they think so easily to put us to it then?"

Lord Willoughby of Parham had begun a settlement on the river Surinam in Guiana, which is nowadays remembered only by the corruption of Parham in the name of Paramaribo, the capital of Dutch Guiana. When writing to his wife, he thus describes the country of the Surinam as it had been described to him, apparently by Anthony Rous, who was in charge of the settlement, at all events, by some one with imaginative powers:—

"There is an inclosed note directed 'the Gentleman,' which I am confident, if you will, you may make use of, praying you not to omit the opportunity. I shall send him as much in sugar, when I hear from you that you have made use of this. Be not frightened nor perplexed for me; I am confident yet God will bring us together into these parts, according to my former petitions to him, that we may end our days together in happiness; for I have had a return of my discovery of Guiana, which I writ to you formerly of; and the gentleman which I sent hath brought with him to me two of the Indian kings, having spoke with divers of them, who are all willing to receive our nation, and that we shall settle amongst them; for which end I am sending hence a hundred men to take possession, and doubt not but in a few years to have many thousands there.

"It is commended, by all that went, for the sweetest place that was ever seen; delicate rivers, brave land, fine timber. They were out almost five months:

and amongst forty persons, not one of them had so much as their head ache. They commend the air to be so pure, and the water so good, as they never had such stomachs in their lives, eating five times a day plenty of fish and fowl, partridges and pheasants innumerable: brave savanas, where you may, in coach or on horseback, ride thirty or forty miles.

"God bless me into life. And if England will be a friend, or that we make them so by tiring them out, either their seamen by the tedious voyages, or the state by the great expense they must be at, which I am very confident we shall, being all so well-resolved to stand by one another to the last man, then I shall make thee a brave being there; for since all is gone at home, it is time to provide elsewhere for a being."

The fortifying of the island went on apace, and on the 11th of June 1651, a Declaration was published by the Lord Lieutenant-General, the Council and the Assembly, for the satisfaction of the Islanders, in which, after informing the inhabitants of what "those disaffected persons gone hence", like Colonels Draxe and Alleyne, had been doing in England, and assuring them that the Council of State had resolved to force a Governor upon them, and a garrison of 1200 men in arms, to be maintained by the island, and would require them, as the Council of State had "most wickedly done", to renounce their allegiance to the King, they declared their firm resolve never to permit His Majesty's undoubted right to Barbados to be questioned, and, to look upon all persons bringing propositions to that purpose as professed enemies to the welfare of them all. Lord Willoughby desired to pursue towards the Barbados Parliamentarians a different policy from that adopted by the Walronds. Not

long after his assumption of the government he had sent Captain George Marten to England to invite those who had fled, or been banished from the island to return, but without success, as those "disaffected persons" were intent upon being reinstated with a strong hand. It can therefore be understood that, when the Parliament had adopted the cause of the exiles as their own, the Royalists of the colony should take steps to avenge themselves upon "those runaway bankrupt rogues, who durst stay no longer here, for fear of a gaol, whereof learned Mr. Bayes is one; having by their villainy, done what in them lies to ruin one of the best and "sweetest islands in the English possession, or "in any others, except the Spaniards", as Lord Willoughby described them to his wife. Hence the following Proclamation which was issued on the 12th of September, 1651, and which shows how the Estates of the Parliamentarians were to be dealt with, if these "runaway bankrupt rogues" did not "make" reasonable composition for them:—

A DECLARATION OF THE LORD WILLOUGHBY.

Whereas it hath been taken into serious consideration by this present Assembly, That all fair and gentle means have been used to induce those persons formerly fled from this Island to return and conform themselves to the Government of this place, and quietly to enjoy their Estates as formerly they have done: by which it was hoped that all thoughts of hostility would have been laid aside, and the heat of their prosecution against us have been altogether extinguished; but instead of these good effects, we find them heightened

in malice and mischief against us daily, soliciting and provoking those enemies of our dread Sovereign to invade us, which they undoubtedly intend to do, as soon as their hands are freed of their more important affairs at home: and in the meantime these mischievous persons have prevailed with them to call us (the King's true Subjects) Rebels, interdicting trade with us and taking (if they can) all Nations that apply themselves to this island, which resolution upon divers Holland ships they have already executed; and whereas it hath been further considered what great charge the well-affected people of this Island have been put to, and what further charge will arise, in order to our just defence, and holding it unfitting any more to lay assessment upon His Majesty's loyal subjects whilst these Rebels, the causes of these our troubles, have any Estate within this Government that may contribute to support the same; be it therefore ordained and enacted and established by the Lord Lieutenant-General, the Council and Gentlemen of the Assembly, and by the Authority of the same, that all the Estates both real and personal, and all the debts, dues, and credits whatsoever, and the profits of the same belonging, or any wise appertaining unto Col James Drax, Capt. Allin Sergeant, and all others that shall be made appear to have been active against us, in aiding, assisting or abetting them, be, and are for these their treasonable practices, and rebellious oppositions to this rightful Government sequestered, until the 25th day of June next ensuing, the same to be forthwith seized on the said L. G. Warrant, and the profits of the said Estates to be disposed of by his said Lordship, for, and toward the defraying of the great charges, which this their unnatural opposition hath already, and will force us to undergo; provided nevertheless, that out of the profits of their several Estates (so seized on) a fifth part shall be deducted for and towards the maintenance of such their wives and children as are now abiding in this Island; and during the time of their abode within the same, they

giving in security, that no part thereof shall be transported to the benefit of their husbands, or any other which now are, or shall be in opposition against this Island, to the intent that the whole world may judge, that peace, quietness and freedom of trade is only our aim, and that we can no longer take those men for our enemies, than whilst the mischievous impressions of their malice are apparent to us, and themselves in open opposition to the welfare of this Island. Be it further ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid that if the said persons or any of them shall before the 25th day of June next ensuing, submit themselves to his Sacred Majesty and to the Authority of His Majesty here settled, by the taking the oath of allegiance, they shall be permitted to a reasonable composition for their estate, otherwise the said Estates to be forfeited. Given under my hand the 12th day of September 1651. To be published by the Minister of St. Philip's two several Sundays.

FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Blockade of Barbados, and the Capitulation of the Cavaliers.

The wounded men on both sides
Most piteous for to see,
Yet nothing could the courage quell
Of brave Lord Willoughbey.

In the early part of October, 1651, the Colonists of Barbados were in great spirits, for a ship had arrived from Holland with news that the

Prince of Wales, the King of Scots as the Commonwealth men called him, had come into England with an Army, and had marched within forty miles of London; that the whole Country had risen in his cause; that the Army had been beaten and the Lord General Cromwell, been slain; and that the Fleet under Sir George Ayscue had run away from England and intended to take Barbados as a place of Refuge. The Dutchmen quite believed, they said, that King Charles was by that time in London itself. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the exiled Royalists should upon such an occasion indulge in that "greatest of their employments", Feasting, whereat they doubtless drank to Church and Crown,—congratulating one the other that the King had come to his own again. Such a Feast there was on the 16th day of October, at a Plantation some twelve miles from Town, Lord Willoughby being present "with a crew of Desperadoes, his officers", as one Parliament man describes them, "with all his grandees" says another. The Feast could not have been over when news was brought that the Commonwealth's Fleet was off the Coast, and that some ships of war were actually in Carlisle Bay itself. There must have been mounting in hot haste then, and much firing off of muskets, which, in the absence of Telegraphs and Telephones was the manner of sending warnings of danger up and down the Island. The long threatened Fleet had indeed come at last, and had surprised the islanders who, says Captain Michael Pack, Sir George Ayscue's Vice

Admiral, "like the men of Laish of old, because "we stayed so long concluded we would not come "at all."

The Fleet made Barbados on the night of the 15th of October, and a Council of War being held, it was decided that the Vice Admiral, Captain Pack, with three vessels should sail onwards and into Carlisle Bay to surprise the shipping there, or at least to prevent the ships there from running away to the Leeward Islands, while the Admiral with the remainder of the Fleet should anchor in Austin's Bay. Austin's Bay was on the windward coast, and by lying there the Admiral was enabled to keep the Islanders in doubt as to what part of the country he would assail, as he could drop to leeward at any time, while the heavy ships could only with great difficulty "turn it up again", in beating against the wind, "the wind bloweing all the yeare long one "waye". Accordingly on the 18th, Captain Pack in the *Amity*, with the *Malaga Merchant*, and the *Success*, stood in for Carlisle Bay, accompanied by a merchant ship commanded by Captain Potty, and anchored in the midst of the shipping lying there, the fire from the Forts on shore doing the Parliament's vessels no injury. There were at the time fourteen vessels in the Bay, mostly Dutch traders, some of them heavily armed. So amazed were the Hollanders at the position in which they found themselves that they offered no resistance when the English Vice Admiral sent boats from his vessels to command the ship-pers to come on board the *Amity*, but surrend-

ered themselves to that officer, who, when he had got them in his custody, and had put some of his men into charge of the Dutch ships, sent word of what he had done to the Admiral who was lying at Austin's Bay. Meanwhile, in the absence from The Bridge of the Governor, his Marshal came off to see who the new arrivals were, and was detained a prisoner.

When the Admiral received word from Captain Pack of the latter's success, he at once weighed anchor and sailed with the rest of the fleet for Carlisle Bay. As the vessels were passing within musket shot of Needham's Point, on which was the strongest fort in the island, a man came off in a small boat and bearing a white flag, who hailed them asking what the fleet was, and telling them that if they came to trade they should be welcome, but if they came as enemies they should stand on their guard. He had no sooner delivered his message than the fort began to fire into the fleet. In order to show that the Parliament's fleet did not wish to begin hostilities, Sir George Ayscue fired a gun to leeward, but when the fort fired at him a second time he sent a broadside in answer, and, one by one as the other vessels came up, so did they. One man killed in the *Victualler* and two men wounded, was all the hurt the fleet sustained in this encounter, and that night all the ships of war were anchored in Carlisle Bay, where they remained within reach of two of the enemy's forts, until the afternoon of the following day, by which time the manning and bringing out of

twelve of the prize ships was carried on, without molestation from the shore. Two small vessels had been run ashore. On the Governor's returning to *The Bridge* on the 16th and finding his Marshal had been made prisoner, he demanded that officer's release, but without success, as the following correspondence will show:—

TO SR. GEORGE AYSUE, THESE.

Sr.

Understandinge by a letter from Capt. Packe that you Comand these Shipps now in ye road, without whose order my Marshall now deteyned could not be released, I have returned this Drumer with this desire yt. you please immediately to send him unto me soe I rest

Yor. friend

F. WILLUGHBYE.

October 16th, 1651,
7 at Night.

FFOR YE LORD WILLUGHBYE, THESE PRESENT.

My Lord. I received yr Lrpp's. by yr Drume, yr Marshall is now on board me, and consideringe he came without any Message and yt. there hath bin since Acts of hostilitie comitted against this flete under my charge I hope yr Lordship will excuse me if I doe not at present satisfie yr Lrpp's. request, but in ye Interim yr Marshall shalbe civilly treated by

Yr Lrpp's. Servant

GEORGE AYSUE.

October 16, 1651.

On the 17th of October Lord Willoughby had posted about 5,000 men at different places on the

coast where the invaders might effect a landing, and on the following day the number was increased, so that there were then about 6,000 foot and 400 horse in arms against the Fleet. From some well-wishers who swam from the shore, the Admiral received intelligence that the Islanders were almost to a man determined to fight him, and that no one of any influence was for the Parliament, but "everye one verie high and violent against the State, in most wicked and "bitter expressions and violent actions": and he was informed that they were in high spirits over the news brought by the Hollanders that the Scots with their King ^{were} ~~was~~ come into England, and ~~was~~ ^{were} very near London, that all the counties came in to him, that the Lord General Cromwell was slain and the Army beaten, all which had been duly published in the Churches of the Island, as there were then no newspapers to spread the news. Nothing discouraged by the state of affairs, Sir George Ayscue on the 17th of October sent a trumpeter ashore with a letter in which Lord Willoughby was called upon to surrender the Island "for the use of the Parliament of England", to which "strange demand" the high-spirited lord returned answer that he acknowledged no supreme authority over Englishmen but the King and those having commissions from the King, and, to the indignation of the Parliamentarians, he directed the answer to the Admiral on board HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP *The Rainbow*, the Flag Ship having been one of the Royal Ships of War which had been taken over to the

Parliament by Sir George Ayscough and others.
The letters referred to ran as follows:—

(Sir George Ayscough to Lord Willoughby.)

My Lord—The Parliament of England, the Supreme Authority of that nation, having been sensible of the defection of this Isle, from their disobedience, it being a Colony which ought to be subordinate, and to depend upon that Commonwealth; And being tender of the good of this Island, to preserve the Inhabitants thereof in their Estates, and liberties; As also being willing that they should be sharers with them in that liberty, which by the blessing of God they have purchased with such expence of blood, and mony, they have sent me with this Fleet to endeavour the accomplishing of the Same; And I being desirous to avoid the effusion of blood, so by this make known the end of my coming, in order to which I expect a present rendition of this Island, with the fortifications thereof, for the use of the Parliament of England, your Answer hereunto I expect by the Return of my Trumpet: And rest your Lordships Servant,—George Ayscough.

Aboard the Rainbow in Carlisle Bay.

October 17th, 1651.

The Lord Willoughby having read it, without any long deliberation returned this Answer:—

Sir,—When I heard your Trumpet was arrived, I expected by him some overtures of Reparation for those Acts of Hostility acted by you upon the Ships in the Bay, and on the person of my Marshal, and not so strange a demand. To which I briefly answer, that I acknowledge no Supreme Authority over Englishmen, but the King, and by his Commission; and for him I do, and by God's assistance shall defend this place. Which be assured is the resolution of your servant,

FRANCIS WILLOUGHBY

October, 17, 1651 at noon

The prize ships were found of great use to the fleet on account of the provisions taken in them, while some served to fetch water from the Leeward Islands. There was also the consolation that their capture had prevented the Royalists from using them against the fleet. The strength on shore was, however, so great that there was no prospect of reducing the defenders by the sword, so the Admiral determined to blockade the Island, hoping by preventing trade and keeping the inhabitants in a constant state of alarm, to starve and weary them into submission. The ships of war accordingly cruised off the Island, taking such Dutch ships as came their way, some of which came from Brazil to load at Barbadoes, others from Holland with wine, beer, and other commodities. At the same time, that no rational opportunity should be lost to make "this stubborn Island know their duty to the Commonwealth of England", the Commissioners found means to send ashore by persons swimming at night from the ships, and to disperse throughout the Island, a *Declaration* which they addressed to the Freeholders and Inhabitants. With this Declaration they sent a copy of their summons to Lord Willoughby. They assured the Barbadians of their friendliness towards them; of their wish to avoid the destruction of their "long-laboured for estates"; dwelling upon the successes of the Parliament's forces by land and sea, and the inability of the Island to subsist without free trade and protection from foreign enemies, both which the Commonwealth would

and could secure to them. The inhabitants were also urged to accept in time offers of peace and mercy, and to join in bringing about the submission of the Island. Indemnity was assured to them.

As from time to time some very untrue accounts reached England of what was being done at Barbados and these statements were published in the News Sheets of the day,—the *Mercurius Politicus* and the like—or in Broad-sides, there is a good deal of reason to doubt the correctness of the Broadside narrative subjoined, and the more so as there is no mention of the affair in the reports made by Sir George Ayscue, by Captain Pack, and by Governor Searle, of what actually occurred during the blockade. The following is the statement referred to, as it appears in a Broadside entitled "*Bloody News from the Barbados published for general satisfaction*." PRINTED "FOR G. HORTONS, 1652":—

Bloody news from the Barbados, being a true relation of a great and terrible fight between the Parliament's Navie commanded by Sir George Ayscue, and the kings of Scots Forces under the conduct and command of the Lord Willoughby; with the particulars of the fight, the storming of the Island, the manner how the Parliament's Forces were repulsed, and beaten off from Carlisle Bay and the Block House, and the number killed and wounded.

*London. Printed 1652, Feb. 24.
By an express from the Parliament Fleet lying before the Barbados, it is certified, that Sir George Ayscue finding the Lord Wil-*

Willoughby to be very resolute and obstinate, called a Council of Officers, whose result was, forthwith to storm Carlisle Block House, for effecting whereof, about 60 long boats were completely man'd with Seamen, who endeavo'red to storm the Fort, and to enter the Bay; but so great was the repulse which they received, that they were inforced to make good their Retreat with the loss of 15 men, and to betake themselves for Sanctuary to their Ships again. However, the loss is supposed to be equal on both sides: And the Lord Willoughby is exceeding vigilant, to make the best of a bad cause, for he rides the Rounds (in person) every night, from Fort to Fort, promising his Souldiers the free prize of the Parliaments Narie; but with this proviso, I beseech you, when they can catch it.

The call to arms did not prevent the General Assembly of the Island from sitting, and on the 5th of November the Martial Legislators joined in a *Declaration* of their own which, after disposing of Sir George Ayscue's summons to surrender, and of the "loose and scandalous papers" scattered up and down the island as they termed the Commissioners' *Declaration*, they declared their resolution to "sticke to" Lord Willoughby, and to defend the Island to the utmost. It is not improbable that in the names subscribed to the Declaration as now given may be found those of the ancestors of some of the Founders of the North American Republic, and even of one or two of the signers of the *Declaration of Independence* of the American Colonies in the last Cen-

tury, for many persons subsequently left Barbados to settle in the older North American Colonies :—

A declaracon sett forth by ye Representative bodye of ye Island of Barbados, mett together in ye Generall Assembly ye 4th of Novmber, 1651.

Whereas ye Present Assembly hath taken into their serious consideracons ye summons sent by Sr. George Aysoue for ye Rendicon of this Island into his hands, chargeinge vs therein of revoltinge from ye power yt hath sent him to wch. neither ye Lawe doth nor our owne consents hath ever subjected us ; and of ye many Acts of hostilitie comitted by ye Shippes now rideinge about this Island, as also of yt abiect and poore Message sent by ye Late Marshall to shake (if it were possible) the fidelitie of our ever honoured Ld. Lt. General which by him together wth his contempt of such vnderhand dealinge hath bin fully declared vnto vs : And alsoe havinge taken notice of those Loose and scandalous papers wth much Industry scattered vpp and down our Island to poyson ye alleigeance of ye good People here and as far as in them lyes to breed divisions and distraccons amingst vs either by sophostieall Argumts endeavouringe to persado some few ignorant People (for of others they can have noe hopes) to believe yt that Governemt wch they have with ye vtter ruine of our deere Brethren in England set vpp is farre better then yt vnder wch our Auncestors have these many hundred years past, lived wth out ye knowledge or sense of those many Miseries bloodshedding rapines and other oppressions wch yt bleedinge Kingdome yet groanes vnder or ells they Endeavour wth menaces of vseinge force to drive vs from yt Pfession or Loyaltie to wch our soules are firmly vnited as to our bodies ; vpon ye consideracon of all wch and to lett ye whole world know how assured we are of ye vpprightnes and sinceritie of our cause and of our constancie to defend ye same We ye Representative Bodye of this whole Island doe hereby declare Resolve and unanimously Pfesse That we will wch ye vtmost hazard of our Lives and fortunes do-

send his Majesty's Interrest and Lawfull Power in and to this Island as alsoe ye Person of ye right Honble Ffrancis Lord Willughbye of Parrham or Lord Leivt. Generall, and yt we will adhere and sticke to him and wth our vtmost powor manfully fight vnder his Coman['d] for ye defence of this Island and ye Governemt thereof as it is now settled and derived vnto him ye said Lord Willughbye from and by ye Letters Patents of his Majestv together wth our Comon Libertie freedoms and Immunities wch ever since ye settlinge of this Island we have to our greate happines and content enioyed from wch Resoluocon no hopes of Reward nor feare of this present ffence now before vs or terror and Menace or future sufferings shall ever make vs to recede : In full and assured Confirmacon hereof we ye said Representative Bodye of this whole Island have hereunto vnanimously and cherefully subscribed our names this 5th day of Novembr. 1651.

SUBSCRIBED.

Of ye Assemblie :

<i>Richard Peers</i>	<i>Wm. Byham</i>
<i>Peter Watson</i>	<i>Tho. Read</i>
<i>Wm. Ffortescue</i>	<i>George Stanfast</i>
<i>Robt. Hooper</i>	<i>Wm. Heathcott</i>
<i>Jabez Wittaker</i>	<i>Wm. Sandyford</i>
<i>Gerard Hartayne</i>	<i>Nicholas Edwards</i>
<i>Wm. Consett</i>	<i>Robt. Gibbes</i>
<i>John Wadloe</i>	<i>Symon Lambert</i>
<i>Thomas Mayocke.</i>	

Of ye Councell :

<i>Phillip Bell</i>	<i>Tho. Elice</i>
<i>Henry Hawley</i>	<i>John Birch</i>
<i>Edmund Read</i>	<i>Henry Guye</i>
<i>Tho. Gibbes</i>	<i>Benjamin Beringer</i>
<i>Henry Shelley</i>	<i>Wm. Kerton</i>
<i>Tho. Modyford</i>	<i>James Browne.</i>

day 1 The 7th of November was kept in Barbados as
of a Thanksgiving for the King's successes in Eng-

land. On the following day a vessel from Barnstaple arrived with a packet from the Council of State in which the Admiral was informed of the "crowning mercy" of Worcester Fight. The bold manœuvre which Charles had executed, and by which he had avoided a battle with Cromwell in Scotland, and then marched into England, hoping to gain London itself, had been rendered fruitless through the energy of Cromwell, who, by forced marches had come up with the Royal Army at Worcester, and had there completely crushed it. Charles Stuart became a fugitive within his own kingdom for nearly six weeks, wandering from place to place in a variety of disguises, until, after many romantic adventures and escapes he reached the sea coast, and, getting on board a vessel at Brighton, breathed freely at last on the shores of Normandy. Oliver Cromwell entered London in triumph, where he was received in state by the Speaker and principal members of Parliament, by the Lord Mayor and Magistrates of London. The battle of Worcester was fought on the 3rd of September, 1651, and on the 9th of September the Council of State ordered that a letter should be written to Sir George Ayscue giving him a narrative of the victories "God hath given us against the "enemy" since his departure. The same day the letter was written. The Admiral was told of successes in England and Scotland, and was instructed to make use of them in promoting the work he had in charge: Charles Stuart had not received the assistance he had counted upon, only

"the trash of the people" had joined him, said the Council.

On receipt of the welcome news of the victory of Worcester it was decided to send Lord Willoughby a second summons. Accordingly, the following letter was sent ashore by a trumpeter, and the opportunity was taken to send at the same time a relation of the victory and "some printed papers":—

MY LORD

Having rec'd by a shipp from England an Expresse from ye Councell of State to advize me of ye wonderfull Mercyes of God towards ye Commonwealth of England by makeinge their Armies Victorious in England and Scotland both at one time which hath putt a full period to all other troubles, the Kinge of Scotts with his Armye at Worster being totally routed and destroyed, and Lient. Generall Monke Comander in Chief in Scotland hath had such success there as yt we may count yt nation fully subdued; Truly my Lord the consideracons of these high blessings to ye Commonwealth of England doth presse uppon me to give your Lrpp. the accompt of them which you will more p'ticularly see by the inclosed papers thereby satisfyeinge mine owne Conscience that I had done my duty in avoydeinge what I can the shedding of blood and ye ruine of this Island; for although I may by some be looked uppon as an Enemye yet really I doe ye office of a Friend in stateinge ye true and happy condition of England, Leavinge to your Lrpp. and those engaged with you to Judge of ye Necessitye of your Lrpp's. and their giveinge their due obedience to ye State of England or ells to suffer yourselves to be swallowed upp in ye destruccon which a little time must inevitably bringe uppon you, which I cannot suppose rationall Men will doe. But ye power and Will of God yt hath soe visibly appr'd

in all other Warres must much more satisfie ye Judgments of all Men unless such whom he hath utterly forsaken.

My Lord—If ye due consideracon of ye State of Affaires doe truly represent to you, your condition, I know you will loose noe time to intimate to me your willingness to submit to ye power and government of your Native Countrey which your Lrpp. will best shew by yr deliveringe into my hands for ye use of ye Commonwealth of England this Island of Barbados which can never be happy till yt. day; your Lrpp's. answeare hereunto I expect by ye Returne of my Trumpet, That if your Lrpp. shall refuse ye delivery upp of this Island My selfe with ye Commrs. may consider of other wayes for ye Reducement of it; I shall not trouble your Lrpp. further but conclude yt I am,

Your Lrpp's. Servant,

GEORGE AYSCUE.

On board ye Rainebowe,
12th November, 1651.

Postcript—My Lord in some Ltrs directed to some Person in this Island, that arrived here yesterday from England there was amongst them a letter found for your Lrpp. I suppose from your Ladye inclosed in a paper directed to another which as I reed. and ye pamphletta therewith inclosed, I here send your Lrpp. as alsoe a Letter for Coll. Ellys, a letter to Major Byham intercepted not longe since comeinge from Holland and another for Capt. Bell.

G. A.

Among the intercepted letters which accompanied the summons was one from Lady Wilmoughby to her husband in which she enclosed an account of the battle of Worcester and assured him that the account was true. She at the same time urged his submission to the Commonwealth. Although, no doubt, the unexpected news must

have somewhat astonished the Royalists, the constancy of their leader did not fail him, and he refused to surrender the Island, accompanying his answer with a copy of the Declaration of the 5th November which has been already given:—

FOR SR. GEORGE AYSUE, THESE.

Sir,—I received by your Trumpett some Letters and Papers intercepted by you, though ye contents please me not at all, yet I must needs acknowledge your Civilities in conveyinge them to my hands; only in your Advice given you seeme to look on me as one guided rather by successe and advantage than by Honor, or ye consideracon of ye Trust comitted to me which I assure you That I never served ye Kinge in Expectacon soe much of his Prosperous condicon as in consideracon of my dutye: And if it have pleased God to add this sadd affliccon to his former I will not be a meanes of increasinge it by deliveringe this place to your keepinge of which as my faith obligeth me, ye unanimous Resolucon (which you may perceive by this inclosed) and courage of ye Inhabitants I hope will enable me, soe I rest—Your Servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

Barbados: ye 13th 9ber. 1651.

In the following rejoinder Sir George Ayscue deals with the question of the importance of Barbados to the king—"If there were such a person as the king"—in so unbelieving a spirit, that his opinion will hardly now-a-days be approved by those of its inhabitants of the African race who, contented and happy and proud of their country, patriotically assert that "Barbados is a great Nation"! :--

TO YE RIGHT HON'BLE

YE LORD WILLUGHBYE OF PARHAM.

My Lord,—I received your letter by ye returne of my

Trumpett ye last night and Truly my Lord it became you as a person of Honor to Expresse yourselfe as you did in your Letter, But I did Expect to meete as well with reason as Honor, for if there were such a Person as a Kinge you speake of, your keepinge this Island signifies nothings to his advantage and therefore believe ye surrender of it would be a small addition of grieft to him. My Lord, you may please to knowe That I am not ignorant of ye Interest of this Island, and very well know ye impossibilitie of its subsistence without ye Patronage of England were not this fleet here, who though we have bin hitherto vnwillinge to Act ye vttmost of our Power as abhorringe ye destruccon of our Countrymen if fairer wayes might prevayle ; yet, My Lord, you may believe I have such a sense of Honor and of which is expected from me in ye performance of my duty here either of which will not suffer me to leave this place (by God's Assistance) vntill it be reduced, which if by fforce will be a sadd catastrophe to your Lordship and those yt shall soe vnadvisedly join with you. I confesse I have bin very desirous fully to satisfie my Conscience that I have vsed my best endeavours to preserve this Island from ruine and destruccon which haveinge performed, I shall not trouble your Lordship or myselfe with more of these disputes, And I assure your Lordship I had not troubled you with this now, but only to convoye your Lady's Letter to you, for last night, perusing ye remainder of ye Letters yt came from England I found one of your Ladye's enclosed as it is here sent from

Your Lordship's Servant,

GEORGE AYSCUE.

On board ye *Rainbow*, in Maxwell's Bay,
Ye 14th 9ber 1651.

Determined to do something to make the islanders feel the inconvenience of holding out, the Admiral decided to beat up their quarters, and first of all to attack The Hole, which had

Note : See Page 153 after
Page 160 -

formerly been called James Town, a place where three or four guns had been mounted. Captain Morris in command of about 200 men landed there on the 22nd of November, beat off the defenders, spiked their guns, took about 30 prisoners, and came off with the loss of but one man. The ships continued to beat up and down the coast; the weather being exceptionally calm, and nothing of special note occurred until the 1st of December when a fleet of ships arrived at the Island. If the Royalists hoped that Prince Rupert had come at last they were doomed to disappointment:

Oh, where was Rupert then?

His trumpet's blast were worth ten thousand men.

The Virginia fleet had arrived, consisting of fifteen vessels bound to Virginia to reduce the Royalists there. The commissioners of the reduction of that colony had called at Barbados on their way, in accordance with instructions to do so given to them by the Council of State.

The accession to his strength which Sir George Ayscue thus received made up a fleet of more than forty vessels, including the prizes taken in Carlisle Bay and off the coast, and he now hoped that he might prevail upon Lord Willoughby to deliver up the Island upon honourable terms. Upon this the Admiral sent a third summons to the Governor, but without result, as the correspondence following will show, it having been debated in the General Assembly whether an

answer should be sent to the summons:—

FFOR YE RIGHT HON'BLE

YE LORD WILLUGHBYE OF PARHAM.

My Lord,—The great Addicon of strength which God hath pleased to bringe soe safely to vs makes it cleere to me yt he will owne vs in our attempts against you (as he hath hitherto done), yet to shew you that I endeavour, what I can to avoyd ye shedding of blood, I have thought fitt to send this once more to your Lordship to deliver ye Island of Barbados, with ye Castles and strength thereof into my hands, for ye use of ye Comonwealth of England. This you may be assured wilbe your last opportunitye—which (if God have not infatuated your Councells,) you will take hold on by which you may receive such reasonable Condicons as may be honourable for ye State to give. I expect your Lordship's answaere hereunto this Night by my Trumpett, and rest

Your Lordship's Servant,

GEORGE AYSCUE.

On board ye *Raineborne*,
Xber 2d., 1651.

FOR SR. GEORGE AYSCUE, KNT., THESE.

Sir,—Your former letters were all soe positive and absolute that you could not in reason promise to yourselfe any other answaere than such as you have from me received, and although ye Accessee of force you mencon to become to you cannot at all shake our Resolutions or in ye least weaken our confidence of prevailing against you in our just defence of this Place, yet if those conditions you mention shall appear to me to be both Honble for myselfe and safe for ye Inhabitants of this Place, (whose welfare I chiefly intend) you shall then be assured yt noe man is more tender of ye spillinge of English blood or more willinge to make upp ye unhappy breaches amonge my deare Countrymen than myselfe. In order whereunto

I shall within two or three days (by ye advice of my Councell and Gentlemen of ye Assembly), send you in writeinge what shall be thought fitt to require on our parts. I rest

Your servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

December 3.

TO YE RT. HONBLE. YE LORD WILLUGHBY OF PARHAM.

My Lord,—I received your Lordships ye last night and conceive nothings by its contents, but yet it might have had a quicker dispatch, which makes me judge you intend only delays and am yet more confirmed in ye beliefe of it by the length of time you take to send proposals which if you had then not sent would have appeared to me and the Commissioners with me only a deferringe of time, and for yt cause we are resolved to receive noe such papers, but if your Lordship intend (as I doe), plainly and really I expect you will appoint Commissioners on your part which shall accordingly be done on ours whereby all objections on each side may be ye more speedily and clearely removed and a period putt to ye danger yt now hanges over your head; if your Lordship consent to treat by Commissioners, I expect to heare from you this day, ye Number you desire to appoynt, and ye Place where to treat and ye Names and Number of Hostages to be given on each side which shall be indifferent to me provided ye time of Treatye beginne on Saturday next at Noone, and continue until Monday next, five of ye clocke and no longer with full power give to ye Commissioners to agree and conclude.

My Lord,—I shall add this latter Part of my Letter in answeare to ye first Part of your last wherein you tell me that I did not offer conditions in my former summons. My Lord to you I say, I conceived conditions were to be understood, but I did putt yt word in my last summons to take away all objections on your part, and indeed conceiving it more became me as a

Gentleman to be most free and open when I wast be able to affront; My Lord, I expect my Trumpett returne by 3 of ye clocke this day, with your Lordship positive answeare.

Your servant,

GEORGE AYSCUE.

On board ye Rainbow in Austin's Bay,
ye 4th of December, 1651.

FOR SR. GEORGE AYSCUE, KNT.

Sir,—I received yours this instant, in answeare to which I shall assure you that I will not be diverted from yt resolution which I wrote you in my last. Not doubtinge but it will appear to all ye world yt your refusall thereof is ye cause of all ye evill yt may ensew thereon, so I rest

Your servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

December 4th, 1651.

All gentle measures failing, and the Virginia fleet being anxious to proceed to its destination, the crews being very sickly, and 200 men having died on their passage from England, it was resolved to beat up the enemy's quarters again before the departure of that fleet, and to endeavour to secure a piece of ground where the sailors might entrench and fortify themselves near the sea, and by so doing afford some of the islanders the means of coming over to the Parliament's side. Learning that at Speight's Town, but slender guards were kept, and that the fort there was not very strong, it was decided to attack that place. Early on the morning of the

on when's
see my for
ish your

AGH ATC

Answer
be dire
r last
rid y
may

BYK

ing
ation
iving
was
rain
ca-
be
se
e

7th of December, under cover of darkness, a force of between 400 and 500 men, of whom about 130 were Scots taken out of the Virginia fleet, these being no doubt captives from Worcester Fight, was landed under the command of Colonel Reynold Alleyne, Major Andrewes, and Captain Morris. Instead of surprising the Royalists, the invaders found that notice had been given four hours before their landing of their coming, and a force of about 1,200 foot and a troop of horse, under the command of Colonel Gibbes, was assembled to oppose them. Although, as Sir George Ayscue reported, the Commonwealth's men were "notably received on their landing", they nevertheless made good their footing, and the seamen "running in upon the enemy hallowing and whooping in such a fierce disorder the enemy was so annoyed, that after a short dispute they all ran." The fort was then stormed and taken, and the ground was occupied that day and the next, but the sailors were so unmanageable that they would not entrench themselves but left the ground and returned to their ships. Before they left, however, they razed the fort, burnt many houses, threw into the sea the four great guns on the fort, one of which was a culverine, and three *were* demi-culverines, and all of which were afterwards taken on board the fleet. *On* the Roundhead side some 6 or 8 were killed in dispute, and about 30 were wounded, among *these* being Colonel Alleyne, Major Andrewes and Captain Morris. The two latter recovered, but Colonel Alleyne

died of a wound which he received from a musket shot when landing, and was very much lamented by his party as "a man of worth and honour". On the Royalist side about 30 were killed on the field, and several died afterwards in the woods whither they had run from the invaders, while about 80 were taken prisoners, among them being Lieutenant Bayly. Besides the four great guns taken, the Parliament men captured the colours in the fort, with some 500 arms and a quantity of gunpowder.

After the affair at Speight's Town the correspondence following took place between the chiefs of the two parties. It should be mentioned, however, that Sir George Ayscue's assumption of virtue for sending ashore prisoners after their wounds had been dressed is open to qualification, for the Admiral was in fact embarrassed by the presence of the prisoners aboard, fearing lest they should eat out the provisions of which the supply was sufficient for the wants of the Fleet only. Moreover, before the wounded were liberated they were duly instructed as to the state of affairs in England, and were educated into a knowledge of the fact that they were misled, being at the same time requested to inform their neighbours and friends thereof on their going ashore. Two of the prisoners for complying with this request when they had landed were hanged. It is stated that about this time it was made death to speak against the ruling party in the Island, or to read any writings found in the Island that had come from the Fleet, before such writings were brought

to Lord Willoughby, and, that, whoever spake for peace or a treaty was forthwith imprisoned.

(*Sir George Ayscue to Lord Willoughby.*)

FFOM YE RIGHT HON'BLE

YE LORD WILLUGHBYE OF PARRHAM.

My Lord,—Yor wounded Men wch we tooke, after care taken to dresse their wounds and giveinge them some refreshmt for their better recoveringe their hurts were sent [on] shoare to their severall aboades, beinge tender of ye condicon of those Misledd People; I have diverse other of yor Men my Prisnrs wch shou[ld] it had bin more pper for yor Lordship whose Souldiers they were to have inquired after their wants than for me to mind you of it, yet I could not denye their Reasonable request to me wch was to send you this note from them and seinge I have this occasion to send to yor Lordship I shall acquaint you That severall Persons are come to me from diverse good People of ye Island since ye last successe yt God hath bin pleased to owne us in, to know ye grounds of ye quarrell pressinge they know not That we have ever offered proffers for peace wherein to give them ye better satisfacion and for ye more acquithage of orselves before God and Man (beinge farr from standinge uppon those advantages or late successe hath given us.) That I doe assure yor Lordship That yorselfe and those wth you may yet have such condicons as may stand wth ye honor of ye State to give and for ye happye and flourishinge condition of ye People and Inhabitants of this Island. My Lord To this my offer I expect yor speedy answeare by my Trumpett and rest.

Yr Lopp's Servant,

GEORGE AYSCUE.

On board ye *Rainebowe* in Speight's Bay,
ye 11th of December, 1651.

(Lord Willoughbye to Sir George Ayscue.)

FROM SR. GEORGE AYSCUE, KNT., THESE PRESENT.

Sir, -Before ye Receivinge your Last I had taken order for Pvision and other Necessaryes that might refresh or accomodate ye Prisoners on board to be sent for wch I intended to aske yor Pmission in ye grantinge of wch I must needes acknowledge yor courtesie to have pvented me; The generall accomodacion I looked on wth some hopes on yor last offer of good and hon'ble condicions for ye securinge of wch and yt all Interestg might be satisfied I convened ye Councell and those Gentlemen Elected by all ye ffreholders of ye Island to sitt in Assembly, where when we were considering of such posicons as might be safe, your positive refusall of receiveinge such came to me wch caused me immediately to send them to the severall parts of ye countrey for ye Necessary defence thereof wch all ye Inhabitants find themselv[es] obliged to be more dilligent and resolute in since they are taught by ye spoyle and burninge of yt pt where yor forces landed what would become of ye rest if in yor power. And yt any should be ignorant of yt Message you sent to me (wch I made publique to ye whole Island) I wonder as much as that they should send to you to know wt tearmes of peace they should have, beinge confident they relye more on...care then on ye courtesie of any yt bringe an Invasion on them, who seeke nothinge but an enjoyment of wt wh God's blessinge on their owne Industrie they have gained in a Place remote from their Native Countrey wch hath not bin soe easily gotten as how to be negligently defended. To wch purpose they only take armes and leave ye guilt of yt bloud and ruine at their doores who offer ye fforce in ye repellinge of which they shall never be desert.

Yor Srvant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

Xber. 12th, 1651.

(*Lord Willoughby to Sir George Ayscue:*)

FFOR SR. GEORGE AYSCE, KNT.

Sir,—I have sent by my Trumpett some fresh Provisions for ye Prisoners you have on board and desire you would give them leave to advize me of their wants which I shall take care to have supplied.

Your Servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

Xber. 13th, 1651.

FFOR YE LORD WILLUGHBYE OF PARRHAM.

My Lord,—Your Trumpett hath spoake with Leint. Bayly and delivered him ye pvisions were sent him; as for ye list of ye Prisoners which your Lordship's Trumpett desired I shall not be able at present to send it in regard ye Prisoners are on board severall Ships which will take longer time then I am willinge to stay your Trumpett. My Lord what Prisoners you have of of mine may if you please be exchanged for such as I have of you Lordship's accordinge to numbers] and qualitie. My Lord haveinge this opportunitie I shall acquitt myselfe from what you seeme to charge me with in your Letter, as for ye firinge howses on shore it was positively against my comand. But my men beinge mocked by some of your's who invited them on shore with a white fflag as if they meant a parley and when they were under comand of ye howses your men fired from thence uppon mine contrary to ye Lawe of Armes not without some mischeife done which caused my men (I not beinge on ye place to hinder it) in their rage to fire those howses from whence they received such treacherous dealinge yet Notwithstandinge had I bin uppon ye Place I had hindred that Mischeife. And whereas your Lordship chargeth on us ye bloud which your standinge out after many and severall offers of peace hath occasioned, we are able with cheerefullnes to acquitt our harts to God as alsoe to ye world That noe wayes for prevention thereof

have bin unattempted and should be gladd your Lordship could soe well cleere yourselfe in that point and not willfully drawe ye guilt of more bloud upon you by standinge it out when soe many invitacons of peace have bin offered you by which ye People may enioy ye peaceable and quiett possession of their longe laboured for Estates which is still ye desire and shalbe ye endeavour of

Your Lordship's Servant,

GEORGE AYSQUE.

On board ye *Rainebowe* in Speight's Bay,
ye 14th Xber., 1651.

FFOR SR. GEORGE AYSQUE.

Sir,—Mrs: Allen hearinge that her husband is wounded hath desired my passe to goe on board to see him which I have granted her and desire yt my Drummer and boate may be returned to,

Your Servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

From my house,
Xber. [17] 1651.

Unable longer to remain at Barbados on account of want of water and the presence of the scurvy in some of the ships, the Virginia Fleet sailed away on the 14th of December. Two months had now elapsed since the Commissioners arrived, and yet they had made but little way in their business. Speight's Town itself, where the Fleet had been so successful on the 7th, was now again occupied by the Royalists, this time under the command of Colonel Shelley, the Fleet's success there having, as Sir Ayscue reported to the Council of State, "signified nothing toward gaining the whole island; the enemy having then

"about 5,000 horse and foot in arms". Of the effect upon the Royalists of their defeat at Speight's Town Captain Pack reported: "Yet this
"no way moved them to any compliance, but
"rather exasperated their spirits, especially ye
"Lord Willoughby, who is as unworthy a person
"as any amongst them, and sought nothing more
"then ye Ruine of ye place". In this state of affairs the Admiral resolved to try to create a party in his favour among the Royalists. Although the news of the overwhelming disaster at Worcester had made Lord Willoughby, and some of his thick and thin supporters only ~~the~~ more determined to resist, there were men in the Island with estates to lose, who thought that the impending ruin of the Colony might be avoided if honourable terms of surrender were assured to the inhabitants. Now that the Parliament had completely mastered England, Scotland, and Ireland, if even Prince Rupert joined forces with the Islanders, and the Commonwealth's Fleet were beaten off the Coast, would not Blake, and perhaps the Lord General Cromwell himself, with all the power of England at their backs, have to be afterwards contended with? Sir George Ayscue having, therefore, got to know that Colonel Modford was inclined to peace, desired one of the banished Roundheads on board the Fleet who was a great friend of Modford's to write to him, and, to use the Admiral's own words, "to satisfy him in those things I thought he
"might most scruple, and to give the best encouragement I could to write him to join with us

"to force them, the violent party, to a submission to peace". It seems probable that the person who was asked to write to Colonel Modiford was "learned Mr. Bayes" as Lord Willoughby called him, for, in a letter which the Colonel wrote to Lord President Bradshaw after the Capitulation he acknowledges "unexpected civilities" received from Bradshaw, "at the hands of John Bayes". It should be stated by the way that, although Colonel Modiford was an ardent Royalist who had fought in the West of England in the King's Service, when there was a King to fight for, he was a cousin of General Monk, who at this time was the able ruler of Scotland, but is better known as having afterwards brought about The Restoration. Modiford was a powerful man in the island and commanded the Windward Regiment, *Hilliard's* plantation, where he lived, was not far from Austin's Bay.

Means were found of getting the letter to Modiford whom the Admiral found "master of a great deale of reason, and truly sensible of the ruine of the Island if they should longer be obstinate", and, after a time the Colonel listened to the representations made to him, and undertook to form a Peace Party in the Colony, provided Articles were granted which were in substance those upon which the Islanders subsequently capitulated. The correspondence was carried on clandestinely, without the knowledge of Lord Willoughby and the bulk of the Royalists. At length Colonel Modiford wrote that he and his friends would like to speak to some of the Com-

missioners. A place of meeting was appointed in an out of the way part of the island, and, with the consent of Sir George Ayscue and Mr. Searle, Captain Pack, the Vice Admiral, accompanied by some Islanders, left the Fleet at midnight. The place where the meeting was held is mentioned in one account as "an obscuere place on shoare", and by the Vice Admiral as "a remote place of ye island, where no boat could land", he adding "but I was faine to swimme ashore". Several of these meetings were held and at length Articles were signed by the Commissioners, Colonel Modiford on his side declaring that he and his friends would press Lord Willoughby and the General Assembly to send for a Treaty, and if that were "denied", then they would declare for the Commonwealth forthwith.

In accordance with the plans of the party for Peace, Lieutenant Colonel Birch of the Windward Regiment, who was a Member of Council, moved in the General Assembly for a Treaty, and he was supported by Colonel Modiford and Colonel Hawley, both also Councillors. Although "a Treaty was ever disrelished by the Lord Willoughby," the Governor felt bound to make a show of treating with the Commissioners, and the letters following now passed between him and the Admiral, the one sending Articles which he demanded, the other, Articles which he was prepared to grant.

(Lord Willoughby to Sir George Ayscue.)

FOR SIR GEORGE AYSCUE, THESE.

Sir,—Though I have greate reason to blesse God for

ye vnanimitye and resolution I find in ye Inhabitants of this Island to stand by me in ye just and necessary defence of themselves, their Rights and Liberties, yet I have thought fitt to confirme them in it by lettinge all see and knowe what they fight for which hath added to their courage, though ye occasion of vseinge it I hope will be taken away when ye same iustnes of our cause which by this I hold out to your selfe shall induce you to quench this Warre kindled amongst Countrymen, and stopp that issue of blood which will be required at their hands who cause itt vnreasonable sheddingge, of which you seeme to wash yours in all ye Messages sent me. An occasion is now offered to iustifie that Innocence and truly though ye guilt would be heavye on whomsoever it fall, yet I shalbe willinge it be layd on me if I insist on any thinge, beyond ye rules of Honor or Comon Right, and pt of that labor which concerns my owne particular, I am willinge to quitt for ye intire preservacon of that of ye Inhabitants. These reasons have caused me with a generall consent and approbacon to send ye inclosed Proposicons, that I might discharge ye dutye of a good christian to compose soe vnnaturall a strife, and of a good Governor to prevent if possible ye many inconveniences of a Warre, ye Event of which I feare not at all. Haveinge given this satisfaccon to my conscience and ye world that I have endeavoured a iust and honourable peace, and recieved an assurance of this People that I shall not be forsaken in makeinge a Resolute defence, I comitt ye issue to God's Allmightye disposeinge who though he allwayes gives not successe where there is right, yet hath putt at this time meanes sufficient to repell any wronge in to ye hand of

Your Servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

Ffrom my house, ye 25th Xber. 1651.

(*Sir George Ayscue to Lord Willoughby.*)

MY LORD,—I am gladd to find in your Letter and

by your Expressions there, ye desire you have of Peace, ye Realitye of which I doe by noe meanes doubt; Neither neede your Lordship question but that it is our desire to effect it which I hope will be cleere to your Lordship and ye world when ye Proposals Now sent your Lordship and the Assembly shalbe proposed and considered on Wherein you will find by severall Articles Proposed by vs That there is noe thinge in this our employment we studdye more then ye makeinge happye ye People of this Island. And that all thinges may be ye better carried on and for ye avoydinge of Mistakes and satisfyinge of all Interrests if your Lordship thinke fitt (it beinge already consented to by my selfe and ye Commissioners with me, vizt. : Mr. Daniel Searle and Captain Michael Packe) to appoynt fitt Persons to come on board ye "Rainebowe", with Power to treat and conclude vppon all such thinges as may seeme to be in difference between vs; And because I conceive your Lordship will approve of this reasonable and indifferent way and for ye avoydinge ye Losse of time I have sent herewith a Safe Convoe for such Persons and soe many as your Lordship shall Judge fitt to treat with vs ye Commissioners, To whose Endeavours I doubt not but God will give his blessinge that this Island may be againe restored to Peace and happines which is ye hartye desire of

Your Lordship's Servant,

GEORGE AYSCUE.

On board ye "Rainebowe," in Carlile Bay,
Ye 27th Xber., 1651.

My Lord,—I desire your Lordship's answeare with which convenient speede you may.

G. A.

(Lord Willoughby to Sir George Ayscue.)

FOR SR. GEORGE AYSCUE, THESE.

Sir,—Though I am entrusted with ye management both of ye Warre and Peace yet I finde your pro-

posalls sent by you directed to ye Councell and Assembly as well as to my selfe, I referred it to their consideracons, as well that it may appeare to be noe private respects of mine owne that keeps ye Warre on ffoote, as that you may see their constancye in assertinge what with soe good reason they in ye proposicons sent to you, which they are resolved to insist on or what they can neither be safe nor happye without, soe That I have not sent Commissioners whose office could have bin noe other but to returne with your consent (which a messenger may doe) to what hath bin by ye generall desire of ye inhabitants sent you.

Your Servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

Barbados, 29th Xber., 1651.

This was sent inclosed :

We ye Gentlemen of ye Councell and Assembly beinge summoned by our Lord Lieut Generall to heare ye Proposicons sent from ye Commissioners lyeinge aboard ye ffleete now against us, doe returne this answeare that we doe unanimouslye adhere to ye first Article in our Proposicons sent on board, and without a grannt first had to that, we shall not yeild to allowe any further treatye.

By ye comand of ye Lord Lieut. Generall
in ye behalfe of ye Councell and Assembly,

WM. POVEY, Secty.

Barbados, 29th Xber., 1651.

(Sir George Ayscue to Lord Willoughby.)

TO YE RIGHT HON'BLE
LORD WILLUGHBYE OF PARHAM.

My Lord,—I have received your Lordship's and ye Resolve of ye Gent. of ye Councell and Assembly, and in regard they have not explained their meaninge concerninge their first Article, We conceive noe otherwise but that what We have offered in our Proposals in

relacon to ye Government of ye Island is as full as may stand with the Libertye, Peace and safetie of a free People; And if your intents be contrary therevnto, We Judge it Proceedes from an aversenes to Peace as likewise by your Refusail to appoynt Commissioners to treat which might have given a right vnderstandinge on both side by which ye People might have enioyed an happy Peace. My Lord, we have discharged our duty to God and Man, and shall waite vntill it shall please God to give vs an opportunitie to gaine Peace and Liberty for ye Interests of this Islann, which shalbe ye desire and endeavours of your Lhp's Servt.,

GEORGE AYSCUE.

"Rainebowe," in Carlile Bay,

Xber. 16, 1651.

The Royalists now "put forth a most bitter "rayleing declaration" against the Commonwealth, concluding it with "an earnest invitation to "undergoe the trouble of a warre for a season, "rather then by a base subjection to see deceit- "full an Ennimy permit them selfs to be slaves "for ever."

On the failure of the attempts to bring about a Treaty, those on board the Fleet expected to hear from Colonel Modiford and his friends, who were now bound on their part to declare for the Parliament. There was no communication from them until the 31st of December, when they sent word that they had all been betrayed by some one who had swam ashore from Captain Heathe's ship, and who had let Lord Willoughby know of the correspondence that had been held by Colonel Modiford and the officers of the

Windward Regiment with the Fleet, for which they were all to be examined next morning at a Council of War. The Council of War was held on the First of January, but the matter was 'hushed,' from a fear lest divisions among the leaders being known, divisions among the Islanders might follow, and a general pardon was granted to those suspected. On the 2nd of January the Commissioners received a message from Colonel Modiford that he would on the following day declare for them.

The 3rd of January, 1652, was a Saturday. On that day Colonel Modiford on bringing down 500 men of his Regiment to relieve 500 others then on guard, drew up all together, and invited them to declare for the Parliament, which they did. The Regiment then fired off three volleys, and the three guns on the Fort at Austin's were discharged and forthwith turned upon the Island, and on this signal being given some of the ships of the Fleet stood into Austin's Bay. The Windward men then entrenched themselves by the seaside, where they had the help of the shipping, which also furnished them with arms and other necessaries. In all there were now about 2000 foot and 100 horse prepared to bring Lord Willoughby to reason, as those for a Treaty termed it. On being assured of the reality of the friendship of the Peace party, the Admiral himself went ashore and spoke to them, causing his Commission to be then read. Scarcely had this been done when it was found that Lord Willoughby had drawn up at night 2000 foot and

400 horse within a quarter of a mile of where the Windward men were encamped. A Council of War was held by the Royalists, and Lord Willoughby for his part, designed to charge the Windward men with his body of horse in which he had a superiority over the latter ; but while the Council yet deliberated, a shot fired from one of the great guns of the Windward party carried away the head of the sentinel standing guard at the door of the house where the Council of War sat, beat open the door itself, and wounded some in the house. Whether or not the effect of that uncomfortable incident, the Royalists that night marched off to a distance of about two miles from Austin's where they encamped, watching day and night the movements of the Windward men ; and, as many of the Islanders were inclined to join the party for the Parliament, Lord Willoughby placed guards upon all the avenues to the Windward camp.

Between the 3rd and the 9th of January 1652, rain fell incessantly in Barbados, so much so, Captain Pack says, that the soldiers could scarcely keep a match lighted. The two armies therefore lay close to one another inactive, the conviction of all being, according to Captain Pack, that when the rains ceased "ye sword must have decided ye businesse," for, as the correspondence following will show, a last effort made by the Admiral, on the motion of the officers of the Windward Regiment, to bring about an honourable Treaty, was rejected by Lord Willoughby in a defiant spirit.

(*Sir George. Ayscue to Lord Willoughby,*.)

FFOR YE RIGHT HON'BLE

YE LORD WILLUGHBY OF PARHAM.

My Lord,—I have formerly sent you many Invitacons to pswade you by a faire complayeance wth that Power yt governs yor Native Countrey to p'serve yor selfe and ye Gent. wth you from a certeyne ruine, and this Island from that desolacon wch yor obstinacye may bringe uppon it; And although I have Now bin owned by a considerable part of ye Countrey, my Commission published unto them and myselfe recd as Governor appointed by ye State of England, amongst you, yet I am still ye same Man and hold forth ye same grace and favour to you 'I formerly did, beinge resolved noe change of ffortune shall change my nature in yt kind, and I am ye more induced to offer it now unto you, in regard you are Members of that whole of wch I have now possession of a greate part; And therefore I am bound in Honor as well as good nature to Endeavour yor p'servacons To wch purpose I have enclosed sent you ye Articles wch ye Windward Regiment have accepted, to wch if you have any scruples or Excepcons in wch you may receive satisfaccoon, lett me know them by yor Commrs. and I shall appoynt fitt p'sons to satisfie them, and by them you resolvinge to omitt nothinge on my pt to pvent ye effusion of bloud and which may p'serve yor Persons and Estates from ruine, I have heard yt some of you doubt mine and ye Commr's. Power to grannt, and others of our Performance of what shalbe agreed to; As to the first any Person intrusted by you shall see it and be Judge of it and soe you truly Informed. To ye second, I shall in ye behalfe of my selfe and ye Commrs. wth me engage not onely mine owne but ye Honor of ye State of England wch is as much as can be required by any rationall Men soe I rest

Yor Servant,

GEORGE AYSCUE.

On boord ye *Raineborn*,
5th January 1651.

(Lord Willoughby to Sir George Ayscue.)

FFOR SIR GEORGE AYSCUE, THESE.

Sir,—I have recd ye Letter sent by yor Trumpett wch mencons a paper Enclosed wch I findeinge not there you can Expect noe Answere from

Yor Servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE,

Ffrm my Quarters,

This 5th January, 1651.

(Sir George Ayscue to Lord Willoughby.)

FFOR YE RT. HON'BLE. THE LORD WILLUGHBYE OF PARHAM, THESE PRESENT.

My Lord,—I recd yor Lopp's by ye returne of my Trumpett, by wch I found my oversight in sendinge ye Articles menconed in my Letter, but I have bin now more circumspect and have sent them inclosed in this Letter to your Lopp., hopinge that yor Lopp and those Gent. wth you will consider ye publique interest of ye People and yor owne, and avoyd ye further spilling of blood by acceptinge of these faire Tearmes now offered you by

Yor Lopp's Servant,

GEORGE AYSCUE.

Raineborne in Austin's Bay,

7th January, 1651.

(Lord Willoughby to Sir George Ayscue.)

FFOR SR. GEORGE AYSCUE, THESE.

Sir,—I recd the Articles in your letter enclosed ye same in effect wch I recd formerly from you. I then acquainted ye Councell and Assembly with them and returned their Resolucon to yon, in wch they at psent with me doe continue much wondringe That what is rightfully theirs and by Lawe they may clayme (the only wordes in yt posicon sent you wch they at insiet on)

should be denied them; Neither hath ye Treacherye of one Man soe farre discouraged, or ye easines of many others beinge seduced by him soe much weakened vs as that We should accept either an vnsafe or dishonorable Peace, for ye pcuringe a good one None shall endeavour more then

Yor Servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

Ffrm my Quarters,
7th January, 1651.

That warlike Baron then put forth a Declaration inviting the Windward Regiment to rejoin him, and declaring Colonel Modiford a 'Traitor.

The Parliament's Army now resolved to fall upon the Royalists at night, but the rain fell so that the soldiers could not march. On the morning of the 9th of January a Trumpeter from the Royalist camp brought the following letter in which Lord Willoughby sent to desire a Treaty:—

(Lord Willoughby to Sir George Ayscue.)

FFOR SR. GEORGE AYSCUE, THESE

Sir, —My Nature not beinge more sensible of ye strict poynts of Honor than of humane comiseracion towards ye affliction of others, especially my owne Countrymen; And to cleere my conscience to God and ye World, That I seeke not to hold mine owne advantage in ye Ruine of others, I will offer yet my endeavour to p'vent ye calamities and effusion of Christian blood wch followes a Civile Warre, and seinge yt ye fire is now dispersed and not gott into ye bowells of this Country, I have resumed ye consideraçon of yor former offers for a Treatye, And though I doubt not but my fforce is sufficient, not only to keepe wt I yet have but to be continually regaininge wt was given away by others rather than lost by me; yet finding it might be done wth soe great a spoyle yt few weeks will

turne ye fface of a Countrey soe flourishing, and soe greate an honor to our Nation into desolation and make it but a very sadd place of abideinge for ye unhappy Victors while ye bloud not only of Countreymen but of those in nearest relation is spilt by one another, I have rather thought good to seeke a decision of this difference by reasons, in wch we have noe lesse advantage than in Armes and resolution. To ye end therefore that some faire Interp'tacon may be given to ye first Article of our propositions I have appoynted Sr. Richard Pearce, Charles Pym, Esqr., Col. Thomas Ellice and Srjeant Major Wm. Byham to be Commrs. wch shall repaire to Oystens, on ye sending of yor safe conduct hither to meet wth ye like Number of yors wth full power to Treate and conclude. If you think this fitt, I desire there may be a Cessation of Armes duringe ye Treatye on these conditions that None of yor fforges goe more than one Mile into ye Countrey from Oystens Bay; Neere to wch none of mine shall have leave to come; And That Coll. Modyford's howse remaine as now it is, haveinge Leave only to take in ffresh p'visions and water, from day to day. I desire yor speedy Answere by my Trumpett and rest
Yor Servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

Ffrom my Quarters,
this 9th of January, 1651.

If you admitt ye Treaty I desire you will send two of these safe Conduct'g of wch I have sent a Copye.
F. W.

In his reply to Lord Willoughby, Sir George Ayscue says that he will not dwell upon the great advantage he had from the assistance of the Colonists who had joined him; but the good and wise Admiral in reporting to the Council of State declares that the enemy's strength was superior to his. His words are these: "The Lord Willoughby sent to desire a Treaty; and in regard his

"strength was much greater and that it was
 "apparent this goodly Island would have been
 "utterly destroyed, if this contest lasted but few
 "days longer (for in this time the Enemy had
 "much wasted it), and also not knowing how our
 "friends that join'd with us for Peace, would
 "have liked our refusall of Treating for it, here-
 "upon we consented to a Treaty."

(Sir George Ayscue to Lord Willoughby.)

My Lord,—I have received yor Lo'pps by yor Trumpett, and although I have lately offered condicions of Peace to you and have recd noe satisfactory returne yet, I am so greate a seeker after Peace and am so passionately desirous to p'serve this Island from further Ruine, That I shall not stand vpon ye greate advantage that God hath now putt into my hands by ye Assistance of those Gentlemen who have ioyned their forces wth ors to gaine a speedye and happye Peace to their Countrey, but doe accept of what yor Lo'pp P'poses as well by ye Treatye as to ye Cessation. In order to wch I have accordinge to yor desire sent a safe conduct for ye Persons you have named; And vpon consultacon wth yor Commrs joyned wth me, we have resolved that Col Modyford and Col Colleton doe joyne wth Daniel Searle Esqr. and Capt Packe who are ye Commrs joyned wth me to be ye Commrs to meet wth yors to-morrow by Eight of ye Clocke in ye morninge at Mr. Turner's howse beinge ye signe of ye Meremayed in Austins, who have full power to Treat and conclude, duringe wch Treatye I expect yt ye Cessation of Armes extend not only to this Place and Col Modyford's howse but alsoe to all others where any Persons are now in Armes for me. And I desire yt ye Person that goeth wth this Trumpett may forthwth be dispatched to ye Commander of yor forces before ye said Coll Modyford's howse signifyeing your agreemt herein vnder yor Lo'pps hand, and yt ye said Person may be p'mitted to acquaint ye Comander

wthin ye said howse of yr ffull Libertie to take in ffresh Provisions and water from day to day, And yt whensoever ye Treatye if it shall soe happen may be broken off noe advantage be taken before ye Comander of yt Garrison have an hower's notice thereof. And yt likewise duringe ye Treatye noe Man's goods or Cattle be destroyed or taken from them. Yor Lopp's Resolution to this I expect wth yor Lopp's Commrs at ye time before appoynted, soe I rest

Yor Lopp's Servant,

GEORGE AYSCUE,

On board ye *Rainbome* in Oystens Bay,
ye 9th day of January, 1651.

These are straightley to charge and Comand you That you pmitt Sr Richard Pearce, Charles Pym Esqr., Colloll Thomas Thomas Ellice and S'jeant Major Wm. Byham wth their servants to passe quietly wthout lett or disturbance to Oystens Bay and returne againe, they beinge Commrs appoynted by ye right Honble ye Lord Ffrancis Willughbye of Parham, to Treate wth ye like Number of mine, To whom I have given my p'mise and this my safe conduct that they come to yt place and returne at their pleasure, of this you are not to faile as you will answeare ye contrary at yor ottermost peril. Given vnder my hand and seale of Armes this of January 1651.

GEORGE AYSCUE.

To all Officers and Souldiers,
under my Command.

Lord Willoughby's rejoinder ran as follows :—

(*Lord Willoughby to Sir George Ayscue.*)

I have accordinge to agreement and time appoynted, sent those Gentlemen whom I desired a safe conduct for, with full power to treate and conclude of such matters and things as may concerne ye composeinge and settlinge ye unhappy distractions of this poore Island.

In order to wch the Person who was by you desired to be sent to the Comander of my ffoces before Col Modyford's howse was despatched. As for those other Places insisted by you for a cessation, I not knowing of any cannot tell wt directions to give, but shall cause all care to be taken that Noe spoyle be made of any Persons goods or Cattle other than what may be necessarye for ye supplie of my ffoces, and rest

Yor Servant,

F. WILLUGHBYE.

Fffrom my Quarters,
ye 10th January 1651.

The Commissioners appointed to treat from either side met at the "Meremayd" in Austan's on the 10th of January, and on the following day they signed "The Charter of Barbados," the Articles in which are alike honourable to those who demanded and to those who granted them. Of the favourable terms secured by the Royalists on their Capitulation, the Vice-Admiral reported to the Council of State that "there were some "things which we were very unwilling to grant," but that, one month's war with two Armies on foot would, he said, have utterly ruined the place, while so many men fell sick of the scurvy that nearly 200 men in the Fleet were hardly able "to go". The Council of State were informed by Sir George Ayscue that he could not help granting favourable conditions. He wrote: "The Articles "I herewith send; hoping that when our con-
"dition shall be well weighed, and the many
"necessities that lay upon us, that what your
"Commissioners have consented to in those Arti-
"cles will not be thought too much. * * * *

"I am sure the Commissioners did their best to "serve the Parliament as the case stood." Lord Willoughby for his part, who had been impeached by the Parliament, and had his property in England confiscated, was by these Articles restored to all his rights of person and property. It is a fact to be remembered that the Articles as they were granted were approved and confirmed by Parliament on the 18th of August, 1652, as may be seen by the *Commons' Journal*. They ran thus :—

THE CHARTER,

"The Charter of Barbados, or Articles of Agreement, had, made, and concluded the 11th day of January 1652, by and between the Commissioners of the Right Honorable the Lord Willoughby, of Parham of the one part, and the Commissioners in the behalf of the Commonwealth of England, of the other part in order to the Rendition of the island of Barbados,

"And are as followeth :—

"1. That a liberty of conscience in matters of religion be allowed to all, excepting such tenants as are inconsistent to a civil government; and that laws be put in execution against blasphemy, atheism, and open scandalous living, seditious preaching, or unsound doctrine sufficiently proved against him.

"2. That the courts of justice shall still continue, and all judgements and orders therein be valid, until they be reversed by due form of law.

"3. That no taxes, customs, imports, loans, or excise shall be laid, nor levy made on any the inhabitants of this island without their consent in a General Assembly.

"4. That no man shall be imprisoned or put out of his possession of land and tenements which he has by any former warrant, or title derived from it, or other goods or chattels whatsoever, without due proceedings according to the known laws of England, and statutes

and customs of this island in the courts of justice here first had, and judgement for the same obtained, and execution from thence awarded.

"5. That all suits between party and party, and criminal and common pleas be determined here, and none be compelled to go into England to assert or defend their titles to any estate which they have here, without the consent of the General Assembly.

"6. That an act of indemnity be with all convenient speed passed in the Parliament of England, to save, keep harmless and unquestionable all and every the inhabitants of this island that are comprised in these articles, for or concerning any act or thing whatsoever done by them, or any of them at any time or in any place; or words spoken by them, or any of them before the date of these articles, and that they be cleared, acquitted and discharged thereof for ever, in respect of the public power, as of any particular person concerning damage, or loss which they have received by reason of the present differences; and until the said act come hither, an instrument of indemnity to all such comprised in these articles to the purpose aforesaid, be assigned by Sir George Ayscue and the other Commissioners, and the said act together with the said instrument of indemnity may be received into the Assembly here, and filed among the records, and that it be represented by Sir George Ayscue and the Commissioners to the Parliament of England, or the Council of State established by the authority of the Parliament: that an act made the 3rd day of October, whereby the inhabitants have been declared traitors, may upon this accord be taken off the file from among the records.

"7. That all and every the inhabitants of this island comprised in these articles be restored to all their lands and possessions, goods and moneys which they have in England, Scotland or Ireland.

"8. That no oaths, covenants, or engagements whatsoever be imposed upon the inhabitants of this island, who receive the benefit of these articles against their consciences.

" 9. That all port-towns and cities under the Parliament's power shall be open unto the inhabitants of this island in as great a freedom of trade as ever, and that no companies be placed over them, nor the commodities of the island be ingrossed into private men's hands ; and that all trade be free with all nations that do trade and are in amity with England.

" 10. That whereas the excise upon strong liquor was laid for the payment of public debts, and other public uses ; it is therefore agreed that Lord Willoughby of Parham, and all employed by him, and all other persons whatsoever, shall be acquitted and discharged from the payment of any public debts, and that the same be discharged by the said excise, and such other ways as the General Assembly shall think fit : provided that care and respect therein be had to such as have eminently suffered in their estates.

" 11. That all persons be free at any time to transport themselves and estates when they think fit, first setting up their names, according to the custom of this island.

" 12. That all persons on both sides be discharged and set free with the full benefit of enjoying these articles, and that all horses, cattle, servants, negroes and other goods whatsoever, be returned to their right owners, except such servants as had freedom given them, and came on board before Saturday the third of January.

" 13. That such particular persons as are in this island, together with Sir Sydenham Pointz, who have estates in Antegoa, may peaceably return thither, and there enjoy the benefit of these articles.

" 14. That for a certain time all executions be stopped, sufficient caution being given, that at the expiration of it payment be made, and that the Commissioners, together with the General Assembly, be judges of the time and caution.

" 15. That the three small vessels or barks now on ground before the Bridgetown do remain to their

owners, and have liberty to go to any port laden.

" 16. That the Lord Willoughby of Parham have all his lands, rents or estate whatsoever real and personal in England (without any fine or composition paid) restored to him, or his assigns, free from all incumbrances laid on the same by the Parliament of England, or any by them authorised since the time of its first seizure or sequestration ; and that what settlements the said Lord Willoughby of Parham has made at Surinam, or any other he shall make on any part of the main of Guiana, shall be by him enjoyed and kept without any disturbance either of himself or those that shall accompany him thither, and that he has free liberty to bring servants from any part in England or Ireland, and that his plantation in Antegoa according to the bounds already laid out be reserved to him ; and that what state soever of right doth belong unto the said Lord Willoughby of Parham in this island of Barbados be to him entirely preserved.

" 17. That all such persons of this island or elsewhere, whose estates have been sequestered or detained from them upon the public difference be forthwith restored to their plantations, goods or estates in the island.

" 18. That the island of Barbados with all the forts, sconces and fortifications thereof, and all the artillery, all public arms and ammunitions be delivered up into the hands of Sir George Ayscue for the use of the States of England, before Monday twelve of the clock at noon, being the twelfth of this instant January, and that no garrison be kept here, but that all the forces shall be disbanded within twenty-four hours after the sealing of these articles ; and that for the safety of the island, the militia shall be disposed of as to the Parliament, Commissioners and future Governors shall seem fit ; these articles not to be construed to take away the private arms of any particular person within this island.

" 19. That the government of this island be by a Governor, Council and Assembly, according to the

ancient and usual custom here: that the Governor be appointed by the States of England, and from time to time received and obeyed here, the Council be by him chosen, and an Assembly by a free and voluntary election of the freeholders of the island in the several parishes; and the usual custom of the choice of the Council be represented by the Commissioners to the Parliament of England, or to the Council of State established by authority of Parliament, with the desires of the inhabitants for the confirmation thereof for the future.

" 20. And whereas, it has been taken into serious consideration, that the main and chief cause of our late troubles and miseries has grown by loose, base and uncivil language, tending to sedition and derision, too commonly used among many people here: it is therefore further agreed that at the next General Assembly a strict law be made against all such persons, with a heavy penalty to be inflicted upon them that shall be guilty of any reviling speeches of what nature soever, by remembering or raveling into former differences, and reproaching any man with the cause he has formally defended.

" 21. It is agreed that the articles may with all convenient speed be presented to the Parliament of England, to be by them ratified and confirmed to all intents, constitutions and purposes.

" 22. It is further agreed that all laws made heretofore by General Assemblies, that are not repugnant to the law of England, shall be good, except such as concern the present differences.

" 23. That the right honorable the Lord Willoughby have free liberty to go into England, and there to stay or depart at his pleasure without having any oath or engagement put upon him, he acting or attempting nothing prejudicial to the State or Commonwealth of England.

" In witness whereof we the Commissioners appointed

by the Lord Willoughby of Parham, have hereunto set our hands and seals, this 11th day of January, 1652.

THOS. MODYFORD,

JOHN COLLETON,

DANIEL SEARLE,

MICHAEL PACK,

RICHARD PEARSE,

CHARLES PYM,

THOMAS ELLIS,

WILLIAM BYAM,

Commissioners appointed by the authority of the Commonwealth of England.

Commissioners appointed for the Lord Willoughby and island of Barbados.

(By the Governor.)

"It is my pleasure that the above-written articles be published by the several ministers in this island. Given under my hand this 17th of January, 1652.

GEORGE AYSCUE.

"This is a true copy with the original attested by me.

"JO. JENNINGS,

Clerk of the Assembly."

It will be observed that the Articles were agreed upon and signed on the 11th of January 1652. The formal transfer of the fortifications appears to have taken place on the 12th and 13th of January. Captain Pack, the Vice Admiral, reported to the Council of the State that the Island was given up on the 12th, while Daniel Searle who became Governor after Admiral Ayscue sailed away to the Leeward Islands, subsequently forwarded to the Council a "*Journal touching the Barbadoes business*" in which the rendition is stated to have taken place on the 13th of January. Sir George Ayscue does not mention the date.

The satisfaction which the news of Sir George Ayscue's success gave to the chiefs of the Commonwealth, may be judged from the fact that the

Council of State ordered that ten pounds should be paid to the person who brought the first news of the surrender of Barbados. Besides reporting at length to the Council of State, Sir George addressed the following letter to the Speaker of the Parliament:—

For the Right Honorable William Lenthall,
Esquire, Speaker to the Parliament of
the Commonwealth of England, these
humbly present:—

RIGHT HONORABLE,—Although I think it not manners for me to trouble your weighty affairs with giving your Honour an account of my proceedings, having given that trouble to the Council at large; yet, Sir, my duty obligeth me to acquaint your Honour that God hath blessed your servants in the performance of your commands (although with many difficulties and hardships.) After three months' siege the Island of Barbados was rendered up to your use and service; and the people generally are sensible of their being formerly misled. And I have, since the surrender of the Island, settled the Militia and all Courts of Justice, all process being issued in the same form they are now in England, having published your Acts against Kingship, &c, on the third of March the General Assembly are to meet, which will complete the peace and settlement of the Island. About the middle of March I shall leave the Government of the Island to Mr. Searle, and go myself to Antigua to settle that place which is likewise reduced. From thence, having visited the other Leeward Islands in order to your service, as St. Christopher's, Nevis and Mount Serrat, whose respective Governors have showed cheerful obedience to your Authority, and have been a great relief to your Fleet, by helping us to what refreshments those places could afford; and giving entertainment, and taking care for the recovering of our sick men that we were necessita-

ted to send to those Islands for their recovery.

Your assured, obliged, and humble Servant,

GEORGE AISCUE.

Barbadoes, Feby. 27, 1652.

Somewhere about the 28th of May 1652 Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice with their Squadron sailed past Barbados, at night time, without seeing the island. Having overrun their reckoning while giving chase to a ship, they came in sight of St. Vincent and Grenada about sun-set on the following day. The Admiral's ship was leaking badly, and it was therefore hazardous to attempt to beat up to Barbados, which was the place they had intended making, they therefore made for St. Lucia and there came to an anchor under Point Comfort. The Governor of Martinique informed the Princes that all the English Islands had surrendered to the Parliament, whereupon Rupert resolved to visit them as enemies. Early in the year Rupert had written to Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, "If I can come handsomely to the Barbadoes, and they join, I may, perhaps go on. When it is done, it is done. I need not tell you of more," but he had come too late to be of service to the Royalists of Barbados. Governor Searle caused guns to be mounted in the bays of that Island for the preservation of the shipping, for he thought the Prince might visit Barbados. "What the design of this grand pirate is we cannot imagine," wrote the Governor to the Council of State, but he said he did not fear Rupert,

although since the noise of the Prince's coming some persons had been secured, who "out of the abundance of the heart had not been able to refrain speaking": others, he said, had left the island in boats by night, "which is a good riddance." Prince Maurice was lost, with his ship and crew, in a hurricane, on the 13th of September, 1652. The Royalist sea-rovers remained in the Caribbean Sea until December, 1652, when what survived of their squadron sailed for France, where their vessels and booty were sold. In the interval they visited most of the Leeward Islands; some of them, two or three times; now attacking the Islanders, now making prize of vessels, now encamping on shore. Cavaliers' Harbour in the Virgin Islands, and Rupert's Bay in Dominica received their names at this time.

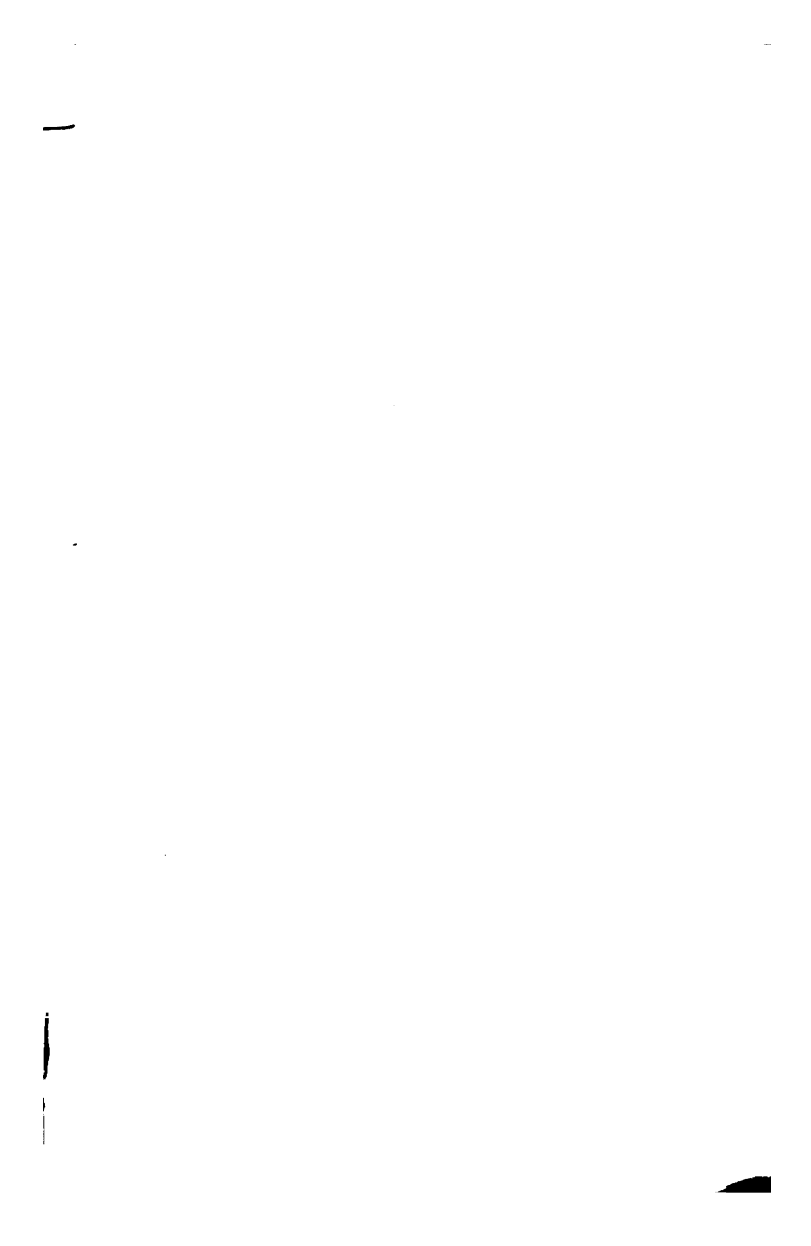
Now, let us dance and sing,
While all Barbados' bells do ring.

N. Barnell Babs.





5000 34



THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED
AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS NOT
RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON OR
BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED
BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE
NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE
BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.

WIDENER
CANCELLED

MAY 18 1987

MAY - 4 1987

2288189

WIDENER
BOOK DUE
CANCELLED

JAN 12 1989

JAN 18 1989

208392

STILL STUDY

CHARGE

WIDENER

WIDENER

JUN 2 2000

MAR 1 2000

CANCELLED



